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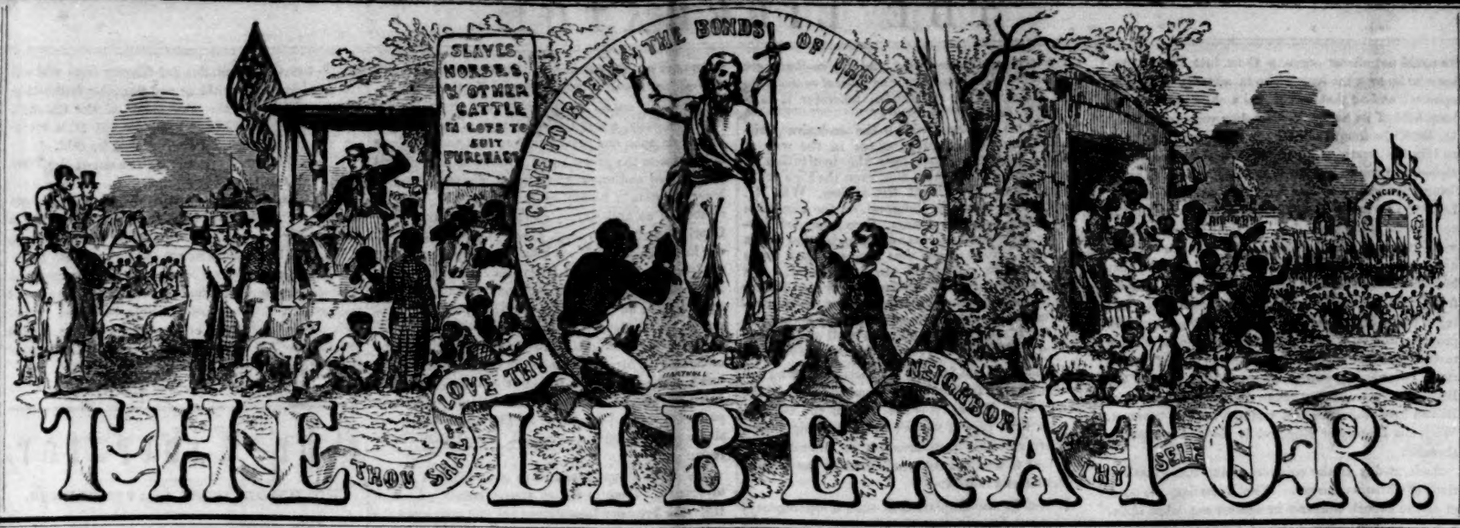
SLAVES, HORSES, & OTHER CATTLE IN LOTS TO SUIT PURCHASERS
I COME TO BREAK THE BONDS OF THE OPPRESSED
THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THY SELF
THE LIBERATOR.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.'

☞ 'The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but *they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke.* On this subject, OUR FATHERS, IN FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and *must walk in it.* To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.' — WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

SPEECH OF 'HON.' CALEB CUSHING — REMOVAL OF JUDGE LORING.

In the Massachusetts House of Representatives, Feb. 21, the Order offered the day previous by Mr. CUSHING, of Newburyport, was taken up, viz:—

Ordered, further, that the committee, to which other petitions of the same tenor have been heretofore referred, be discharged from the further consideration thereof, and that the same be reported back to the House, with leave to withdraw, in conformity with the standing order of the House.

Mr. CUSHING spoke as follows:—

I rise, sir, to speak on a question both specific and general, which in my judgment is one of great importance to the members of this House, and of deep interest to the people of this Commonwealth. The specific question is of the form and spirit of the action which the House shall take regarding the Judge of Probate of the county of Suffolk. That is the precise, definite and specific question to which my order relates. It involves, however, in some portions of the preamble, the action of this House in relation to what has come in common parlance to be called the Lobby, which is now deservedly regarded as a term of opprobrium—and of the Lobby, Mr. Speaker, in a most peculiar relation, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. Or, to re-state the general question in other terms, I might say that that general question, as comprehending a special question, is, whether the members of this House are free men, who know their rights, and knowing, dare maintain; or whether they are, as they have been characterized on this floor, the whipped spaniel crouching at the feet of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

I humbly beg pardon of the House in using that phrase, and applying it to the House and its action. It is not my phrase. I do but catch up and repeat the yet unexpired echo of one of those terms of opprobrium, menace, dictation and insult applied to this House in its Hall last Friday. These, I say, are questions of importance to the members of this House, and of interest to the people of the Commonwealth. It is of importance to the members of this House, whether we are to legislate upon our own unbiassed judgments of the truth and justice of the cause, or whether we are to legislate under the influence, secretly applied, or the menaces, publicly applied, of avowed enemies of the Constitution and the Union; and it is of deep interest to the people of this Commonwealth to know whether the Commonwealth is to continue to be, either in appearance or in fact, controlled by avowed enemies of the Constitution and the Union, and to be dragged along as a conquered victim, tied to the chariot wheels of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

* * * * *

The present position of this House, in the face of the petitions on the table, and in the face of the events of the last three days, is that of acting under the menaces and insults of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. I will proceed, in the first place, to prove that the House is acting under the influence and terror of these menaces and insults. I find that at the meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, in the afternoon, it was notified of the vote of the House, granting the use of the Hall. The acceptance of it was opposed by Mr. Garrison, and it was declared that the Society did not intend to use the Hall when it made application—that the request was made only to see if the right of the Society would be recognized. It is a question of the power of the Society in this House, upon Mr. Garrison's declaration.

I have collected all the reports of the debate, so as to gather some idea of its temper, for I hardly think I should have been much edified had I been present. I see that my name was used more than once. Whatever epithets were applied to me were but as a drop of rose water compared to the terms of opprobrium applied to this house, and especially to the Republican party. If they can bear up under it, I think I shall be able still to stagger along. Mr. Phillips said that 'he understood that a gallant member of the Legislature [I presume he alludes to me] had said that he was opposed to giving the use of the hall to disunionists. With all respect to that gentleman, Mr. Phillips would suggest that that gentleman did not own the State House.' Well, now, that is a very profound and eloquent thought, and that is the sort of reason and eloquence which is applauded by the Anti-Slavery Society. So I do not own the treasury; but, if a burglar should be breaking in as I passed, am I not to interfere? 'The people own it, and the Legislature are but as the constable that keeps the door.' We begin with finding constables keeping the door. You are not members of the Legislature; you are not vested with a constitutional function as an element of the government; you are but constables, keeping the door for the Anti-Slavery Society. Is not that a proud position for the wisdom and genius and eloquence which control the Commonwealth? We begin by finding that you are constables. But we undergo changes—transmigrations. And I have got to touch a party question. I don't raise it, but it is represented that Mr. Wendell Phillips 'attacked the Republican party, characterizing it as cowardly, afraid to acknowledge great truths, but if forced to swallow them, it 'lumps' them. He maintained that the State Anti-Slavery Society was practical; every thing but one (the dismissal of Judge Loring) that it has asked of the State, it had obtained.'

Mr. SPOONER of Boston: You need not defend the Republican party.

Mr. CUSHING: I am defending the House of the Commonwealth against the attacks of the disunionists. Everything that the disunion society has asked, except one, has been granted! There is no other branch of the Lobby that can boast of such success. It is testimony of triumphant power over this Legislature, if the boast be true. The one thing yet unaccomplished is the removal of Judge Loring, and I find that Mr. Phillips prophesied that the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society would yet write the epitaph of a Suffolk Judge of Probate. Now comes a passage which I hesitate to read, but, after all, it is the exhibition of the mode in which the Society is to succeed in this remaining object, not yet accomplished, therefore I must read it. Mr. Phillips says —'The South has other reasons for hating Massachusetts than because her barren soil bred Caleb Cushing;' (I do not see the logic of this, although I do see the logic of the succeeding clause,) 'it hates her for her cowardice.' The South hates Massachusetts for her cowardice! This, our Commonwealth of Massachusetts, founded by the Pilgrims of Salem and Plymouth; this, the conqueror of Louisburg; this, the State of Massachusetts which has never been found hindmost when a battle-field was to be fought in behalf of the country in any war, in any region of the earth; this State of Massachusetts is held up to the South, and the South is invited by Mr. Phillips to hate the Commonwealth for her merits. Gentlemen, do you accept this stigma? Do you admit that you are subjects of this cowardly State of Massachusetts? But what does Mr. Phillips say to those who constitute the dominant majority in this House? 'I despise the Republican party, and would not sit in its Legislature. A whipped spaniel, not a cod, should be the emblem of the Legislature.' The whipped spaniel should be the emblem, crouching at the feet of the Anti-Slavery Society! Thus it is that this infamous Society commands. Here is the proof, not only by the resolutions, but in the speech by which the resolutions are supported. That there may be no mistake in the sentiments uttered, I will read from other papers.

The *Traveller* reports Mr. Phillips as saying that 'every good practical statute that gilds the statute book owes its origin to the Abolitionists, who have invariably carried their points with the Legislature. The next measure they demanded was the removal of Judge Loring, and then they would have a law providing a fine for a master bringing a slave into the Commonwealth. His concluding remarks were very severe and denunciatory upon the Republican party, and the present 'dormant Legislature which goes to sleep every day.'' So they say that the present Legislature are not only cowards and whipped spaniels, but that we come here to slumber upon our duty every day. I have some little experience of life and parliamentary assemblies, and I will say that never in any period of history did there come under my observation such a series of insults and menaces and opprobrious epithets applied to any legislative assembly as are here applied to this. I know that, in some of the stormy and sanguinary periods of the French Revolution, it did occur that lobby members and factious men did occasionally obtrude themselves upon the French Convention, but never even in the history of the worst periods of the anarchy and bloodshed of the French Revolution is there to be found an example of dictation and menace such as is applied to this legislature in its own hall of assembly.

Here is an assumption of authority in this House, a dictation founded on the premise that past measures have been dictated by that Society, and an assumption that they may be able to dictate to future Legislatures. Is this so? Is it true? Is it a fact which I am to accept? Am I to consider that you are the whipped spaniel of the Anti-Slavery Society, and this House subject to its dictation? Am I to consider that this House is a bond-slave to the Anti-Slavery Society? If that be so, my line of argument has got to be changed. It is not my practice to argue with slaves. I shall be compelled to go out of the House, and argue the question with the masters of this House. I scorn the imputation. I deny that they are thus identified with the Anti-Slavery Society. I deny that they are thus subject to its dictation. I deny that they are crouching under the lash flourished by Mr. Phillips. I have denied it a thousand times in other places, and before other audiences. I have denied it on any and every occasion where I have had occasion to address the people of the Commonwealth. I have denied that it is true that this Commonwealth is under the odious and infamous dictation of a band of disunionists, called an Anti-Slavery Society. I have said that there has been undue compliance towards its demands, but I have denied that it was done in obedience to its authority. Have I got to go to my friends, and take back all this? to say that in the inspiration of my love for my native Commonwealth, I had repelled all the dishonor and imputations cast upon her, but that I was now constrained, by facts that had occurred under my own eye, by the transactions in which I had been a partaker, that I was mistaken, and that I must admit that she was the whipped spaniel of the Anti-Slavery Society? Shall I be driven to this? That is the general question presented by my Order, and to which you are to give answer.

* * *

The Anti-Slavery Society wants the removal of Judge Loring. It wants personal ignominy thrown upon him. It does not care how much of the Constitution is violated, provided in the rage of its wrath it can get at him. They say you are the constables and whipped spaniel, and this they want and will have. Now, then, here is a powerful party that has got, I think I may conjecturally say, a little discontented with the yoke. They find the manacles of the Anti-Slavery Society grind into its flesh. They are now headed by a gentleman of practical common sense, not a zealot nor an enthusiast, not a member of the Anti-Slavery Society, but a man of practical sense, who really does not want to dissolve the Union, but likes very well to govern Massachusetts in the Union, or in the aggregate of the Union. It is no longer the Republican party, however, for I see by the placards that it is the 'Banks' party. As it is identified in one man, Governor Banks, the convenience of Gov. Banks may be looked after.

This House, whatever it does for the removal of Judge Loring, must be careful not to trouble his (Banks's) prospects in the Middle States. It is therefore proposed to this Legislature, that we shall ride rough-shod over the Constitution of the Commonwealth; that we shall trample upon the rights and interests of its respected public servants who now administer the judiciary of the Commonwealth, and all this, because it will be inconvenient if Judge Loring is fired at with cannon balls, as Mr. Phillips calls his speeches. Now then, Mr. Speaker, upon this statement of premises, we come to the two alternatives that I desire to submit to the House: the special alternative with reference to the Judge of Probate, and the special alternative with reference to consolidation of the Courts of Probate and Insolvency; how the House will sail between the Scylla and Charybdis of the menaces and dictation of the Anti-Slavery Society, and the convenience of the Governor. How that will be solved, I do not know, Mr. Speaker. I anticipate that the consequence will be, that Edward Greeley Loring will be left untouched in the office of Judge of Probate. I anticipate that, in undertaking to break down the entire judiciary, only to get one Judge out of the way, is too gigantic; and that the other method is too odious, and will revolt against the sense of the House. So I anticipate that both will fail. I will not enlarge upon the subject further than to say that I think it is the duty of the House to follow out its standing order, which requires that the petitions shall be reported back with leave to withdraw. Then I come to the general alternative, as to whether the House is really under the dictation of the Anti-Slavery Society, and whether it should not be emancipated. I am for setting the slave free—for striking off the chains. I say to the down-trodden victims of the Anti-Slavery Society, 'You are also men and brothers, you may become free.' I am here the advocate of a revolution—revolution if you are subject to its dictation. That I do not know. I am waiting for information upon that point. I desire to know, and I can only know by facts. Will this House proceed in violation of its orders, and entertain unlawful petitions for the removal of Edward Greeley Loring, when it is practically competent for any member to proceed lawfully by introducing an order of inquiry, as other subjects are brought up every day? If you proceed in violation of the laws of the Commonwealth, there is but one explanation of your course, that you do it in humble deference to the demands of the Anti-Slavery Society.

It is one of its principles to force upon you, in violation of law, a specific mode of removal of the Judge of Probate. This is its present object. It is the measure and the end to which it is devoted, and which it seeks to rally this House to support. If you do submit, you do, then, impliedly admit, and do admit, that this pretension of the Anti-Slavery Society is true, that you are subject to its dictation, that what it commands is performed, that you do not sit here to act upon your own judgment, but, like an old French Parliament, the humble registers of the edicts of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. I will continue to repel it as in past time. It cannot be that the raving absurdities put forth by this Society—that all the follies taught by these vagrant disunionists—are your guides and leaders in conscience and judgment. Merciful Heaven! Can it be that these, the men whose preposterous folly and absurdity, whose monstrous treason-mongering, whose absurd logic, whose wild and crazy declamation constitute the staple of all their resolutions and speeches—it cannot be that these are the gods of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts! And I do but utter the voice of the Commonwealth—I do not know how it may be in a particular majority, at a particular day—but I do believe that I do utter the voice of the Commonwealth, when appealing to the Representatives of the Commonwealth to shake off the shackles of superstitious adhesion to the Anti-Slavery Society. Rise up in your dignity, as freemen, and determine that you will legislate as free Representatives, scorning this infamous and odious dictation of the Anti-Slavery Society!

From the Bradford, Vt., National (Democratic) Telegraph.

DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION---A NORTHERN REPUBLIC, &c.

Since our last paper went to press, the first out and out Garrisonian, disunion State Convention ever held in Vermont has assembled in this place, done its work, adjourned, and dispersed. It is with a sense of most profound, heartfelt sorrow and regret, that we approach our duty as a journalist, to lay before our readers the proceedings of this body of men; for we are well aware that consequences must follow causes. It is known to us, too, that the poison from a mad dog introduced into the circulation of the blood of an animal, although quiescent for a time, is sure, sooner or later, to manifest itself in terrible forms, and kill the animal. As is this terrible poison to animals, so is the moral poison that we have, by force or fraud, had introduced into our State, during the last week, to our moral, religious and political life. It is sure to hit somewhere, or something, or somebody, and send them headlong downwards, *downwards*. 'The way to hell is easy, but to get out again, there's the rub,' says Virgil.

At the opening of the session on the first evening, the character of the meeting was plainly shadowed forth. Letters were read from Gov. Slade, the School Marm Man, and others. A telegraph dispatch was read from a New York disunionist, a Rev. Mr. Sloane, that he was on the way, and would give them garget the next evening. Then the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions reported a resolution, that the U. S. Constitution was founded in iniquity; that the Union was an unholy alliance, and should be forthwith dissolved, and the foundations laid for a Northern Republic! Around about on the speaker's stand were Parker Pillsbury, a man known only as a compeer of Abby Folsom, Abby Kelley, and nobody knows how many other Abbys,—a colored gentleman, Mr. Remond, from Salem, Mass., and another colored gentleman, Mr. Brown, from Boston. A prominent participator in affairs was a man from Orange County, who works as much on his farm on the Sabbath as any other day in the week; and there they were, mixed up with Congregational ministers, and Methodist ministers, and churchmen of *every* faith. The black men were of fair intellect, and possessed good talents for public speakers. They each spoke in the evening in derogation of the Union and the Constitution, against the South, and everything in general.

Mr. Pillsbury came down upon the church of all denominations without mercy, saying in so many words, that if the church could be destroyed, it ought to be; entered into a tirade against the President of Dartmouth College; made an attack upon Rufus Choate, Edward Everett, and Robert C. Winthrop; came down in terrible wrath upon Chief Justice Taney; gnashed his teeth at the President of the United States; cursed the Constitution and the Union; and thus exploded, amid the cheers of all those of his stripe. Thus ended the first evening.

At 9 o'clock, next day, the meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. Mr. Davis, of New Hampshire. We will here state that the *band*, as the President called the choir of vocalists, performed admirably. Their sweet harmony contrasted strongly with the sulphurous eloquence of Parker Pillsbury, and was all that there was of any worth about the whole concern. A letter was then produced from Wm. Lloyd Garrison, which was laid upon the table to be read in the afternoon, as it was supposed to be twenty-four carats fine, and more people would be likely to be in attendance to hear it. Then came up the Constitution annihilator—the resolution to break down all creation! Mr. Remond said he execrated the Constitution, despised and repudiated it, and was there to find out the quickest way to get rid of it, and the Union, and all together. Gov. Fletcher here stated that he thought the black man spoke unadvisedly, and said he was much surprised at the character of the meeting, and—sat down. The negro up, and pitched into him, and came off first best, as far as the encounter was concerned. And so it was during the whole meeting. The Governor was made the butt of sarcasm, and he evidently wished himself home in Cavendish.

Mr. Goodell, of New York, occupied some time in the afternoon. His position was, as we gathered from the tenor of his remarks, that it would be morally wrong to dissolve the Union, not because there was any intrinsic value in it, but because it would be unjust to leave four millions of slaves in the hands of these inhuman slaveholders. See them *free*, and then dissolve the Union, if we wanted to. He did not worship the Constitution, or anything connected with it. Mr. Goodell announced himself the editor of the *Radical Abolitionist*, a paper published in New York by the Anti-Slavery Society.

The negro put after Goodell, but, using him more gentlemanly than he did the Governor, quite as essentially used him up. Mr. Sloane, a New Yorker, made a speech of an hour's length in the evening, which was of a piece with what had been said before. He abused the South in every possible way: one would judge from his account, that they were a pack of filthy, degraded beasts. McIndoe, the Secretary, undertook to let in a word, but Mr. Remond would none of it; he ridiculed him beyond measure, and poor McIndoe sat down and sweat it out. Some resolutions were passed, but the one to dissolve the Union, we believe, was not passed. It was thought to be a matter of policy not to press it to a vote, as they had glutted themselves sufficiently in discussing it. Thus, at half past eleven o'clock in the afternoon of the 27th of January, in the year 1858, ended the only disunion State Convention ever held in Vermont. May it be the last! It is a deep disgrace to the State. It is mortifying to State pride to have the Governor of the State meet an African negro in debate, and get whipped and insulted, as was Gov. Fletcher, by Mr. Remond, of Salem. What was the composition of the Convention? It was made up almost entirely of Republicans, those who went it blind in support of Fremont in the last campaign; uneasy, restless mortals, who want a higher moral platform; fanatical agitators in want of a topic, to keep community in a broil. Here we see the whole Republican party, from Fletcher downwards, in convention; plotting how they may best and quickest pull down the work of Washington and Franklin, Hancock and Adams. We verily believe the Republicans, as a party, would be willing to 'let the Union slide' without a consideration. Surely the National Democrats have great cause to thank kind Providence that they are where they are—true patriots and ever-enduring friends to the whole country—to the Constitution, and all the laws!

From the Bradford, (Vt.) Aurora.—[Republican.]

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION AT BRADFORD.

We had not time, before our paper went to press last week, to express, as we wished to do, our utter detestation of some of the proceedings and doctrines advocated by some of the speakers at this Convention. We attended the meeting, expecting to hear a candid discussion of the subject of Slavery as it now exists. But, upon the organization of the Convention, and the presentation of resolutions for action, and the discussions which followed, we were surprised to find ourself in the midst of a set of ultra Garrisonians.

During the deliberations of the Convention, the resolution for the repudiation of the Constitution, the dissolution of the Union, and for the formation of a new Northern Republic, came up for the action of the Convention. We took the liberty to denounce the principles embraced in the resolution as rash and treasonable, and asserted that the resolution was entirely out of order, and should be ruled out by the Convention,—that the objects of the meeting, as publicly announced by the originator and principal manager, were not for political purposes—that the principles involved in the resolution struck at the root and foundation of all political parties, and all political action—that we had no sympathy for such pernicious doctrines and unrighteous heresies as were embraced in the infamous resolution, and that they should not be tolerated by the Convention.

Mr. Goodell, of New York, made a lengthy speech, maintaining that the Constitution was not pro-slavery, but *anti-slavery*—it was only misconstrued—like the man who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, it had fallen among thieves. Let the proper and legitimate construction be put upon it, and he would ask no better instrument. He looked only for a remedy in an act of Congress abolishing slavery. He maintained that a dissolution would not at all effect the object aimed at by the disunionists, but would be disastrous in its results.

Mr. Goodell was followed by Parker Pillsbury, of New Hampshire; C. L. Remond and W. W. Brown, of Massachusetts—probably three as ultra Garrisonians as can be found—who broached their infamous heresies to their fullest extent.

Rev. J. W. Sloane, of New York city, addressed the Convention in a speech of an hour's length, some parts of which were extremely objectionable. Like the other Garrisonians present, he maintained the Constitution to be pro-slavery, and that the Dred Scott decision was in harmony with the spirit of the Constitution, and our only remedy was its repudiation.

During the harangues of some of these fanatical disunionists, the illustrious Washington, the framers of the Constitution, and the Churches of all denominations, were denounced and censured in the most outrageous terms. We will not disgust the good sense of our readers by their repetition.

But one of the redeeming features of the Convention was the noble and praiseworthy position taken by the Governor of Vermont. When the Garrisonians first broached their infamous dogmas, Gov. Fletcher expressed his disgust and utter dissent, and remarked, in substance, that he came there in compliance with the Circular that was issued, inviting a wholesome, temperate discussion of the Slavery question. He was not there to co-operate in efforts to dissolve the Union, or to abolish the Constitution, the Declaration, the Church, or the Bible—that he took no stock in these quack remedies for the evils of Slavery—that he had no sympathy or fellowship for them—and that he regarded it as ungenerous and a cheat, to invite the Anti-Slavery men of Vermont together under that call, and at the same time four professional lecturers of the Garrisonian School were secured for the express purpose of propagating their distinctive notions. Governor Fletcher protested against this clandestine effort to commit the Anti-Slavery people of Vermont to what they regarded as gross absurdities; or, in this way to identify them with such a movement.

After the vile denunciations of the illustrious framers of the Constitution, by these ultra disorganizers, Gov. Fletcher obtained the floor, and after some preliminary remarks, said, in substance, that it was painful to listen to the gross slanders that had been heaped upon men whose services, sacrifices and sufferings in the cause of liberty had no parallel. He who would deprive them of their just meed of praise, proved himself a degenerate child, unworthy of his high lineage. He revered the memories of those noble men, whose wisdom and valor, under God, conducted to liberty and independence; in his judgment, no sons were ever called to build the sepulchres or write the epitaphs of more worthy ancestors. He directed the minds of the audience to those striking passages in our early history, in which their ancestors endured peril and privation, and fought for liberty, and gained their independence, and that the same spirit which led them to 'pledge their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor,' to secure liberty and independence, controlled their action in framing our happy Government; and now men rise up before this audience, and declare their *hatred*, their *detestation*, of that Constitution, and would trample it in the dust. He appealed to the audience—Shall such declarations find favor or sympathy among these green hills? God forbid!

Such was the drift of Gov. Fletcher's remarks. He also pointed out the folly, the madness of the remedy prescribed by the Garrisonian disunionists. And while he denounced these measures as rash and inconsistent, Gov. Fletcher said he yielded to no one in his hatred and opposition to slavery, or in his desire for its abolition.

At the conclusion of Gov. Fletcher's remarks, the resolution was laid on the table.

We rejoice to know that the anti-slavery men of Vermont repudiate the obnoxious heresies of these rash disunionists, and we hope the time may never occur when they will join hands with these unprincipled disorganizers.

The Liberator.

SPEECH OF REV. THEODORE PARKER, DELIVERED IN THE MASSACHUSETTS REPRESENTATIVES' HALL, FRIDAY EVENING, JAN. 29, 1858.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I shall not hold you long to-night. There are others to speak after me, who have better claims to your attention,—the one for his race, the other for the personal attributes of eloquence which, in America, have never reached a higher height, nor exhibited themselves in so fair a form. The hand of the dial shall pass round once, and I leave this spot, to be filled more worthily. During these sixty minutes, I ask your attention to some thoughts on the Present Aspect of Slavery in America, and the Present Duty of the North.

Mr. Guizot,—one of the most learned and humane of the European statesmen,—prefaced one edition of his 'History of Representative Government,' by stating that the conditions of National welfare were far more difficult than the too sanguine hopes of mankind had ever led them to expect. If that were so in Europe, where centuries of bitter experience have taught men to be cautious in their hopes, how much truer it is in America, where we think liberty is so naturel to the soil and congenial to man that it needs no support from the people, but will thrive of its own sweet accord!

In some respects, our experiment is simpler than the great attempts at freedom made before us in the old world: in some others, it is more complex and difficult. All the old forms of civilization were based on Unity of Race. It was so with the Romans, Greeks, Persians, Hebrews, Egyptians, East Indians. The same holds good of the Moors, who mark the transition from ancient to modern times. All the mediæval attempts at civilization had the same character—in Spain, Italy, France, Germany, England itself. Civilization hitherto has belonged only to the Caucasian race. The Africans have remained strangers to it in all times past; they could not achieve it for themselves at the time, hitherto never rising above the savage or the barbarous state; no other people brought it to them, or them to it save in small numbers.

It was left for America to begin a new experiment in the History of Civilization—to bring diverse races into closest contact. The Catholic Spaniard began the experiment:—he mixed his blood with the Red-man, whose country he subdued; he brought hither also the Black-man. Thus the African savage, the American barbarian, and the civilized Caucasian of Spain became joint stockholders in this new coparcenary of races. The Protestant Briton continued what his Catholic Spanish predecessor had begun; and while the Puritan was painfully voyaging to Plymouth, in the wilderness seeking an asylum where the Apocalyptic woman might bear her man-child to grow up in freedom, other Saxons were bringing a ship-load of negroes to the wilderness, to become slaves, forever. Thus the African came to British and Spanish America. Out of the 60,000,000 inhabitants of this continent, I take it about 9,000,000 are of this unfortunate race.

In the United States to-day, four of the five great races live side by side. There are some 60,000 or 80,000 Mongolian Chinese in California, I am told; there are 400,000 American Indians within our borders—perhaps 4,500,000 Africans, and 26,000,000 Caucasians. The union of such diverse ethnological elements makes our experiments of democracy more complex, and perhaps more difficult, than it would otherwise be.

The Mongolians are few in numbers, and so transient in their stay, that nothing more need now be said of them.

It is plain where the Red-man will go. In two hundred years, an Indian will be as rare in the United States as now in New England. Like the bear and the buffalo, he perishes with the forest, which to him and them was what cultivated fields, towns and cities are to us. Our fathers tried to enslave the ferocious and unprogressive Indian; he would not work—for himself as a freeman, nor for others as a slave; he would fight. He would not be enslaved—he could not help being killed. He perishes before us. The sinewy Caucasian laborer lays hold on the phlegmatic Indian warrior; they struggle in deadly grasp—naked man to naked man, hand to shoulder, knee to knee, breast to breast; the white man bends the red man over, crushes him down, and chokes him dead. It is always so when the civilized meets the savage, or the barbarian—naked man to naked man: how much more fatal is the issue to the feeble when the white man has the Small Pox for his ally, and Rum for his tomahawk! In the long run of history, the race is always to the swift, and the battle to the strong. The Indian will perish—utterly and soon.

The African is the most docile and pliant of all the races of men; none has so little ferocity; vengeance, instantial with the Caucasian, is exceptional in his history. In his barbarous, savage, or even in his wild state, he is not much addicted to revenge; always prone to mercy. No race is so strong in the affectional instinct which attaches man to man by tender ties; none so easy, indolent, confiding, so little warlike. Hence is it that the white men have kidnapped the black, and made him their prey.

This piece of individual biography tells us the sad history of the African race. Not long since, a fugitive slave told me his adventures. I will call him John—'tis not his name. He is an entire negro—his grandfather was brought direct from the Congo coast to America. A stout man, thick set, able-bodied, with great legs and mighty arms, he could take any man from this platform, and hurl him thrice his length. He was a slave—active, intelligent, and much confided in. He had a wife and children. One day his master, in a fit of rage, struck at him with a huge club, which broke both of his arms; they were awkwardly set, and grew out deformed. The master promised to sell the man to himself for a large sum, and take the money by instalments, a little at a time. But when more than half of it was paid, he actually sold him to a trader, to be taken further South, and there disposed of. The appeals of the wife, the tears of the children, moved not the master whom justice had also failed to touch. As the boat which contained poor John shot by the point of land where he had lived, his wife stood upon the shore, and held her babies up for him to look upon for the last time. Descending the Mississippi, the captain of the boat had the river fever, lost his sight for the time, and John took the command. One night, far down the Mississippi river, he found himself on board a boat with the three kidnappers who had him in their power, and intended to sell him. They were asleep below—the captain still blind with the disease—he watchful on deck. 'I crept down barefoot,' said John. 'There they lay in their bunks, all fast asleep. They had money, and I none. I had done them no harm, but they had torn me from my wife, from my children, from my liberty. I stole up noiselessly, and came back again, the boat's axe in my hand. I lifted it up, and grit my teeth together, and was about to strike: and it came into my mind, 'No murderer hath eternal life.' I put the axe back in its place, and was sold into slavery. What would you have done in such a case?' I told him that I thought I should have sent the kidnappers to their own place first, and then trusted that the act would be imputed to me for righteousness by an all-righteous God! I need not ask what Mr. Garrison would do in like case. I think his Saxon blood would move swift enough to sweep off his non-resistant creed, and the three kidnappers would have started on their final journey before he asked, '*Where shall I go?*'

John's story is also the story of Africa. The stroke of an axe would have settled the matter long ago. But the black man would not strike. One day perhaps he will do what yonder monument commends.

At this moment, we have perhaps 4,500,000 men of African descent in the United States; say 4,000,000 slaves, 500,000 free. They are with us, are of us; America cannot be rid of them if she would. Shall they continue slaves, or be set free? What consequences will follow either result? This is the great question for America. It is the question of Industry, of Morals, of Religion; it is the immediate question of Politics. It does not concern the 4,000,000 slaves alone, but also each of the 26,000,000 Caucasian freemen. On it depends the success or the failure of our experiment of Democracy. The bondage of a class may continue in a despotism; there it is no contradiction to a national Idea. It is different in a Democracy which rests on the equality of all men in natural rights. So here the question of slavery is this: 'Shall we have an industrial Democracy, or a military Despotism?' If you choose Slavery, then you take the consequences of Slavery, which can no more be separated from it than cold from ice. No nation can escape the consequences of its own first principle of politics. The logic of the idea is the 'Manifest Destiny' of the people. If Slavery continues, Democracy goes down—the form of Republicanism, or of constitutional Monarchy, will perish—and Absolute Military Despotism take their place at last. From Despotism, as seed reared in the national garden, comes Despotism as national crop, growing in the continental field.

This question of Slavery does not concern America alone; all Christendom likewise is party to this contest. It is a question of Industry, Commerce, Education, Morals, Religion; to the civilized world, it is the great question of civilization itself. Shall this great continent be delivered over to Ideas which help the progress of mankind, or to those which only hinder it?

Every year brings America into closer relations with the rest of mankind. Our slavery becomes, therefore, an element in the world's politics. See, then, for a moment, how the various Christian nations stand affected towards it.

Just now, there are but five great national powers in the civilized or Christian world. Spain, Italy and Greece pass for nothing—they have no influence in the progressive movements of mind, are no longer a force in the world's civilization. They are not wholly dead, but so far as they affect other peoples, it is by the thought of past generations, not the present. I pass those three decaying nations by, and look at the live peoples. There is (1) the Russian Power—a great Slavic People; (2) the French Power—a great Celtic People; (3) the German Power—a great Teutonic People, in many nations or States, with Slavic and Celtic elements mixed in; (4) the English Power—another great Saxon-Teutonic People, with Celtic annexations; and (5) the American Power—a great English Saxon-Teutonic People, with diverse mixtures from the rest of mankind. All the four set on the fifth, and influence our treatment of this question of Slavery.

I. Russia is mighty by its vast territory, its great natural resources, its immense population, its huge army,—appointed and commanded well,—its strong central government, its diplomatic talent, and the people's ability to spread. The Government is despotic, but yet one of the most progressive in Christendom. With the slavery of Africans, Russia has no direct concern; she has much to do with that of white Caucasians. She is rapidly putting an end to slavery in her own borders. Not many years ago, the late Emperor Nicholas emancipated all the *serfs* he had inherited as his own private property. They amounted to more than 7,500,000 men; he established over 4000 schools for the education of their children. Alexander, his son, had not been in the imperial seat three years, before he published a decree for the gradual and ultimate emancipation of all the *serfs* in the empire. Their number must exceed the entire population of the United States. Here is the decree, dated the 20th of last November,—the 2d of December by our New Style calendar. The proprietors of two large provinces—St. Petersburg and Lithuania—containing nearly three million souls—some weeks since, asked permission to emancipate their serfs at once. Yesterday's steamer brings also the welcome news that the proprietors of Nishni-Novogorod have just done the same. This province is as large as Virginia, with a population of 1,500,000, and with the exception of the capital and its environs, is the richest and most intellectual part of the empire. It abounds with manufactories; every year, 300,000 strangers from Asia and elsewhere trade in its fairs. You would expect the most enlightened population to demand the immediate freedom of the serfs. Russia has become

an ally on our side. Her example favors freedom. Soon you will find a change in the Southern newspapers, and in the American Government which they direct and control. In the Crimean war, when Russia fought for injustice, they sustained her as the ally of their own despotism, and fought against England as their foe. All that will soon change; and already Southern newspapers denounce the enfranchisement of the Russian serf. 'The example is dangerous:' 'the condition of the British West Indies, and of Hayti, might have taught Alexander a better lesson.'

II. The French are powerful through the character of the people,—the most military in the world,—their science, letters, art, the high civilization of the land. France has had a long and sad connection with African slavery. Once she was the most cruel of cruel masters. In her first Revolution, of 1789, the chain was broken—but its severed links united again. In the last Revolution, of 1848, at the magic word of Lamartine, expressing the revolutionary thought of the people, the fetters were not only broken off, but cast into the depths of the sea. France, for a moment, was the ally of Freedom—and, of course, encountered the noisy wrath of the Southern States. But the Celtic French, the most fickle people in the world, revolution their normal state, perpetually turning round and round, have elected a tyrant for their master, and now worship the Emperor. He has 'crushed out' freedom from the French press as completely as our own Mr. Cushing wished to do in America. The new tyrant attempts to revive the African slave trade, and has already made arrangements for kidnapping 5000 savages in Africa, and sending them as missionaries to Christianize the West Indies! What will come of this scheme, I know not. But just now, the political power of France is hostile to freedom everywhere. When the Emperor has padlocked even the French *mouth*, no wonder he finds it easy to chain the negro's hands. No doubt the intellectual and moral power of France are on our side as before; but both are silent, and of no avail. The French Emperor is the 'little Napoleon' of the African slave trade. Great is the joy thereat in the Southern States; already their newspapers glorify the 'profound policy,' the 'wise and humane statesmanship of the great Emperor.'

'A fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind.'

III. The Germans are of our own blood and language—bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh,—with the same blue eyes, the same brown hair, and ruddy cheek, and instinctive love of individuality. The people which began the civilization of modern times by inventing the Press, and originating the Protestant Reformation, can it ever be false to Freedom? Germany acts on mankind by Thought—by great ideas. What France is for war, England for commerce, and Russia for the brute power of men, that is Germany for thought. The Germans have had connection with African slavery, but have ended it. Sweden begun the work some years ago; then Denmark followed; now within the last few months Holland has finished it. Here are the documents. Soon the last footsteps of German Oppression will be covered up by the black man rejoicing in his freedom. Though their rulers are often tyrants, our German kinsfolk are on our side—God bless them!

IV. England has great power by her political institutions, her army and navy, her commerce and manufactures, her power of practical thought, her great wealth, her mighty spread. She and her children control a sixth part of the globe, and nearly a fourth part of its people. No tribe of men has done such service for freedom as the Anglo-Saxons in Britain and America. England has had connection with African slavery—her hand has been dyed deep in the negro's blood. She planted slavery in her provinces throughout the continent and its many islands; the ocean reeked with the foul steam of her slave-ships. She was a hard master, and men died by millions under her lash. But nobly did the dear old mother put this wickedness away. She abolished the slave trade, making it piracy; at length, she abolished slavery itself, and in one day threw into the sea the fetters of 800,000 men. Well did Lord Brougham say—it was 'the greatest triumph ever won over the foulest wrong man ever did against man.' England need not boast of Agincourt, Cressy, Poictiers, and many another victorious fight, at Waterloo, Sebastopol, or Delhi; the most glorious victory her annals record was achieved on the first of August, in the first year of Victoria, when Justice triumphed over such giant wrong. Nobly has she contended against the slave trade, rousing the tardy conscience of Brazil, and not quite vainly galvanizing Spain into some show of humanity. She has shamed even the American government—and I think we have a sloop-of-war on the African coast, which we yearly hear of in the annual appropriation bill!

But such nobleness is exceptional even in England; the world has seen no such example before. That emancipation was not brought about by the privileged class, the royal and nobilitary, who officially reign, or the commercial class, who actually govern the nation; but by the moral class, whose conscience stirred the people, and constrained the government to do so just a deed. Of course, a reaction must follow. We see its effect to-day. There is a party which favors African slavery. Mr. Carlyle is the heroic representative thereof. Personally amiable, in his ideas he is the Goliath of slavery. Just now, the London *Times* appears to favor this reactionary movement, and its powerful articles are reprinted with great jubilation in the American newspapers, which hate England because they love the slavery which she has hated so long. There is no time to inquire into the cause of this reaction. It affects the political class, and still more certain commercial classes to whom 'Cotton is King.' Great is the delight of the South; the Slave Power sings *Te deums* to *its* God. A bill was before the Senate, not long since, appropriating $3750 to pay the masters for twelve slaves who ran away and were carried off by the British in the war of 1812,—whom the captors refused to deliver up to 'democratic bondage.' Mr. Hale opposed the bill, because it recognized the doctrine that there may be property in human beings, declaring that neither by vote nor by silence would he recognize so odious and false a doctrine. Mr. Seward joined in the opposition. But Mr. Fugitive Slave Bill Mason came to the rescue; and after referring to the anti-slavery opinions of the British, declared he was '*gratified to see those opinions are rapidly undergoing a change.*' What signs of such a rapid change he may have seen, I know not; nor what sympathies with the Slave Power the accomplished British Minister, new in this field, may have expressed to him. 'Diplomacy is a silent art.' But I think Mr. Mason greatly mistakes the British Public, if he believes they will be fickle in their love of right. The Anglo-Saxon has always been a resolute tribe. I believe John Bull is the most obstinate of all national animals. When his instinctive feelings and his reflective conscience commend the same thing, depend upon it he will not want the will.

There may have been a change in the British Government, though I doubt it much; there has been in the London *Times*. In the 'Cotton Lords,' I take it, there is no alteration of doctrine, only an utterance of what they have long thought. The opinion of the British People I think has only changed to a yet greater hatred against slavery. The Anti-Slavery Party in England has immense power—not so much by its numbers, or its wealth, as by its intelligence, and still more by that Justice which, in the long run of time, is always sure of the victory. At the head of this party I must place Lord Brougham, now drawing near the end of a long and most laborious life, not without its eccentricities, but mainly devoted to the highest interests of the human race. Within the four seas of Britain, I think there lives no man who has done so much to proclaim Ideas of justice and humanity, and to diffuse them among the people. If he could not oftener organize them into law, it was because he took too long a step in advance of public opinion; and he that would lead a child must always keep hold of its hand. Nearly fifty years ago, June 14, 1810,) he fought against the slave trade, and drew on him the wrath of men 'who live by treachery, rapine, torture, and murder, and are habitually practising the worst of crimes for the worst of purposes,' Long ago he declared—'There is a law above all the enactments of human codes—the same throughout the world, the same in all times; it is the law written by the finger of God on the heart of man; and by that law, unchangeable and eternal, while men despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they will reject the wild and guilty phantasy that man can hold property in man.' When the little tyrant of France revives the slave trade, the great champion of human right roused him once more for battle, and the British Government has taken the affair in hand: the British love of Justice will triumph in this contest. Why, the History of England is pledged as security therefor.

Such to-day is the opinion of the four great nations of Christian Europe. What if the despotic power of the French Emperor be against us; what if, for a moment, the Cotton Lords of England lead a few writers and politicians to attempt the restoration of bondage; the history of England and her conscience, the intelligence of France and Germany, the example of Russia, are on our side. Yes, the teaching of universal human history. All these come with their accumulated force to help the rights and the moral feeling of America.

The American Government has long been on the side of Slavery. The present Administration is more openly hostile to freedom than any of its predecessors. Mr. Buchanan is no doubt weak and infatuated, strong only in his wrong-headedness; his Cabinet is palsied with Slavery. But he has done one service which was thought hopelessly difficult,—he has already made President Pierce's administration respectable. We complain of the New Hampshire General; but the little finger of Buchanan's left hand is thicker than Pierce's whole loins.

Since we met last, the Federal Government has committed two outrages more.

I. The first is the Dred Scott Decision. The Supreme Court is only the dirty mouth of the Slave Power,—its chief function to belch forth iniquity, and name it law. Of the decision itself, I need not speak. It is the political opinion of seven partisans appointed to do officially that wickedness which their personal nature also no doubt inclined them to. That Court went a little beyond itself,—out-Heroding Herod.

Two Northern Judges, only two, McLean and Curtis, opposed the wrong. I think nobody will accuse me of any personal prejudice in favor of Judge Curtis, or any undue partiality towards him. His conduct on other and trying occasions has been justly condemned on the Anti-Slavery platform, and is not likely to be soon forgot, nor should it ever be. But I should do great injustice to you and him, and still more to my own feelings, if I let this occasion pass without a word of honest and hearty praise of that able lawyer and strong-minded man. He opposed the 'decision': with but a single Northern Judge to support him, with two Northern Judges to throw technical difficulties in his way, and oppose him by coward treachery, with five Southern Judges openly attacking and brow-beating him, with both the outgoing and incoming Administration to oppress and mock at him, with subtle and treacherous advisers at home to beguile his steps and watch for his halting, did Judge Curtis stand up at Washington, amid those corrupt and wicked Judges, and in the name of History which they falsified, of Law which they profaned, of Justice which they mocked at, with a manliness which Story never showed on such occasions, he pronounced his sentence against the wicked Court. I remember his former conduct with indignation and with shame; but no blackness of the old record shall prevent me from turning over a new leaf, and with golden letters writing there—*In the Supreme Court*, JUDGE CURTIS DEPENDED ONCE THE HIGHER LAW OF RIGHT.

I am truly sorry his manhood did not stay by him, and continue his presence in that Court. The defence of his resignation is found in the inadequacy of the salary. It was $4,500 when he took it, $6,000 when he left it. A pitiful reason—by no means the true one. Samuel Adams was a poor man: I do not think he would have left his seat in the revolutionary Congress because more money could be made by the cod-fishery or by privateering.

II. The Dred Scott decision was the first enormity. The next is Gen. Walker's filibustering expedition. I regard this as the act of the Government. 'What you do by another, you do also by yourself,' is a maxim older than the Roman Law which preserves it. I am not inclined generally to place much confidence in Walker's word, but he sometimes tells the truth. In a recent speech at Mobile, he says he had an interview with the President last summer, and declared his intention of returning to Nicaragua: his (filibustering) letter was published with the President's consent. A member of the Cabinet sought a confidential interview with him, told him where he might go with safety, where only with danger, and added, 'You will probably sail in an American vessel, under the American flag. After you have passed American limits, no one can touch you but by consent of this Government.' A Cabinet minister told one of Walker's friends, if he made an alliance with Mexico, and *attempted the conquest of Cuba*, '*means shall not be lacking to carry out the enterprise.*' Walker says the Government arrested him, not because he attacked Nicaragua, but because he did not attack Mexico! I hold the Federal Government responsible alike for the conduct of Walker and the Supreme Court.

But omitting particulars, looking only at the general course of the Government, you find it favors slavery with continued increase of intensity. Let not this rest on my testimony alone, or your judgment. Here is 'An Address delivered before the Euphemian and Philomathean Literary Societies of Erskine College, at the Annual Commencement, Wednesday, August 12th, 1857, by Richard Yeadon, Esq., of Charleston, S. C.' Mr. Yeadon is a Representative man, editor of the *Charleston Courier* and a stanch defender of the peculiar institution. He tells us he comes 'rather to sow the good seed of truth, than to affect the arts or graces of oratory; to teach the lessons of history, and impress the deductions of reason, than to twine the garlands of science or strew the roses of literature': he would 'combine the didactic in large measure with the rhetorical.' He discusses the character of the Federal Government and its relation to Slavery, 'on which rest the pillars of the great social fabric of the South.' He attempts to show that the Constitution was so framed as to uphold slavery and check freedom; and that the Federal Government has carried out the plan with such admirable vigor, that now Slavery can stand by its own strength. But you must have his own words:—

'The new Constitution not only recognized, sanctioned and guaranteed it [slavery] as a State institution, sacred within State limits from federal invasion or interference, but also so far as to foster and expand it, by federal protection and agency, wherever it was legalized, within State or Territorial limits; to uphold it by federal power and the federal arm, against domestic violence or foreign invasion; and to make it an element of federal organization and existence, by adopting it as a basis of federal representation and a source of federal revenue.'

'From that day to this, the institution of *domestic slavery*, within the several States, *has been regarded and held sacred, as a reserved right*, exclusively within State jurisdiction and *beyond the constitutional power of Congress or of the General Government, except for guarantee, protection and defence: it being one and the chief of those 'particular interests,' which the Convention had in view, as enhancing the difficulty of their work.*'

'*The General Government and the co-States are bound, by constitutional duty and federal compact, to uphold and defend the institution*, wherever it lawfully exists, *in any of the States.*'

'Indeed, so unquestionable is the exclusive jurisdiction of State sovereignty, except in the way of guarantee and protection, over the institution of slavery within State limits, that even the high priest and arch-fiend of political free-soilism, Wm. H. Seward, in his speech in Congress, on the admission of California into the Union, thus conceded it—'No free State claims to extend its legislation into a slave State. None claims that Congress shall *usurp* power to abolish slavery in the slave States;' and the wildest fanatics of abolitionism, of the Parker and Garrison school, acknowledge that their atrocious crusade against the South can only achieve its unhallowed aims by trampling as well on the Constitution of their country, as on the Oracles of God.'

He has admiration for one Northern man who has been remarkably faithful to the ideas and plans of the Slave Power. He says it is the duty of the General Government to protect Slavery by suppressing insurrectionary movements, or attempts at domestic violence, and to turn out the whole force of the Republic, regular and militia:—

'It was in contemplation of such a contingency, such a *casus fœderis*, that the eloquent, accomplished and gifted Everett, (now dedicating his extraordinary powers of composition and elocution, *under the auspices of 'The Southern Matron,'* a patriot daughter of the Palmetto State, to the purchase and consecration of the home and the grave of Washington, as the Mecca of America,) in his maiden speech, as the representative in Congress of the city of Boston, in 1826, then fresh from the pulpit, in *honorable contrast with the dastardly Sumners* and bullying Burlingames of the present day, thus patriotically and fervently spoke—'Sir, I am no soldier. My habits and education are very unmilitary; but there is no cause in which I would sooner buckle a knapsack on my back, and put a musket on my shoulder, than that of putting down a servile insurrection in the South.'

The newspapers say, with exquisite truth, that Mr. Everett 'is the greatest literary ornament of the entire continent of America.' So he is: but to Mr. Yeadon he is also a great hero, the iron man of courage, unlike the '*dastardly Sumners*,' and '*the dishonored and perjured miscreants, Seward, Sumner, et id omne genus*, who advocated the "higher law doctrine."' (p. 15—note.)

He thus sums up the whole of our history:—

'*The American Union . . . has been the great bulwark of . . . Southern Slavery, and has, in fact, nursed and fostered it*, from a feeble and ricketty infancy, into a giant manhood and maturity, and self-sustaining power, *able to maintain itself either in the Union or out of the Union*, as may best comport with the future policy and welfare of the Southern States.'

'Finally, to crown all, comes, in august majesty, the decision of the Supreme Judicatory of the United States, in the case of Dred Scott, *pronouncing the Missouri restriction unconstitutional, null and void, and declaring all Territories of the Union, present and future*, when acquired by purchase or conquest, by common treasure or common blood, *to be held by the General Government*, as a trustee for the common benefit of all the States, and *open to every occupancy and residence of the citizens of every State, with their property of every description, including slaves*, reposing under the egis of the Constitution.

The cheering result, then, is, that the Southern States stand now on stronger and higher ground than at any previous period of our history; and this, under the progressive and constitutional action of the General Government, blotting out invidious lines, establishing the broad platform of State equality, *demolishing squatter sovereignty*, retrieving the errors of the past, and furnishing new securities for the future.'

'The number of slaveholding States has been increased to 15 out of an aggregate of 31 States, with a fair prospect of *further increase in Texas, and in other Territory, acquired or to be acquired from Mexico, in the Carribean sea, and still further South.*'

The Slave States, he says, no longer 'conceding domestic slavery to be a "moral, social and political evil," any more than any other system of menial and prædial labor, but able . . . to defend it as consistent with Scriptural teachings, and as an *ordinance of Jehovah for the culture and welfare of the staple States*, and the civilization and Christianization of the African.' To them he says, 'Cotton is King, and destined to rule the nations with imperial sway.' (p. 46.)

The slaveholders feel stronger than ever before. This privileged class, the 'Nobility of Democracy,' counts only 350,000 in all. Feeble in numbers, the Slave Power is strong in position—holding the great federal offices, Judicial, Executive, and military, stronger in purpose and in will. 'The hope, the courage of assailants is always greater than that of those who act merely on the defensive.' At the South, it rules the non-slaveholders, as at the North it has had also the Democratic party under its thumb. There is a secret article in the creed of that party, which demands unconditional submission to the infallibility of the negro-driver. Senator Toombs has no slaves in Georgia who yield to his will more submissively than to the whim of the Southern master crouches Hon. Mr. Cushing, whose large intellectual talents, great attainments and consummate political art, in this hall so fitly represent the town of Newburyport. It is the glory of the Northern Democratic party that it has been the most cringing slave to the haughtiest and unworthiest master in the world. All individuality seemed 'crushed out,' to use Mr. Cushing's own happy phrase. Within eight months, every Northern State has had a State Democratic Convention, each of which has passed resolutions endorsing the Dred Scott decision. This act implies no individuality of thought or of will. The Southern master gave command to each Northern squad of Democrats—'Make ready your resolutions in support of the Dred Scott decision!' They 'make ready.' 'Consider resolutions!' They 'consider.' 'Vote aye!' They 'vote aye.'

The Slave Power, thus controlling the slaves and slaveholders at the South, and the Democratic party at the North, easily manages the Government at Washington. The Federal officers are marked with different stripes—Whig, Democrat, and so on. They are all owned by the same master, and lick the same hand. So it controls the nation. It silences the great sects, Trinitarian, Unitarian, Nullitarian: the chief ministers of this American Church—three-fold in denominations, one in nature—have nought to say against slavery; the Tract Society does not rebuke the 'sum of all villanies,' the Bible Society has no 'Word of God' for the slave, the 'revealed religion' is not revealed to him. Writers of school-books 'remember the hand that feeds them,' and venture no word against the national crime which threatens to become also the national ruin. In no nation on earth is there such social tyranny of opinion. In Russia, Prussia, Austria, France, Italy and Spain, the despotic bayonet has pinned the public lips together. The democratic hands of America have sewed up her own mouth with an iron thread—that and fetters are the only product of the Southern mine. In Washington, not a man in the meanest office dares open his lips against the monster which threatens to devour his babies and his wife. No doctor allows himself a word against that tyrant—his business would forsake him if he did. In Southern States, this despotism drives off all outspoken men. Mr. Underwood, of Virginia, made a speech against the extension of slavery into Kansas,—he must take his life in his hand, and flee from his native State. Mr. Helper, of North Carolina, writes a brave, noble book, cyphering out the results of freedom and of bondage,—even *North* Carolina is too hot to hold him. Mr. Strickland, at Mobile, sells now and then an anti-slavery book,—the great State of Alabama drives him out, scares off his wife, and will not allow him to collect his honest debts! At the North, you know the disposition of men who hold office from the Federal Government, or who seek and expect it. The Federal hand is raised to strangle Democracy. They never give the alarm; 'twould be to 'strike the hand that feeds them.' Nay, they crouch down and 'lick the hand just raised to shed *our* blood.' Even at Washington, Slavery has sewed up the delegated Northern mouth, else so noisy once. It is nearly two years since a Southern bully, a representative man of South Carolina, stole upon our great Senator, with coward blows felled him to the ground, and with his bludgeon beat the stunned and unconscious man. He meant to 'silence agitation': he did his work too well. Do you remember an anti-slavery speech in the Senate since Charles Sumner's, in May, 1856? Can you think of one in the House? If such have been spoken, I have not heard either, though I have listened all the time. Now and then, some delegated mouse in the wall has squeaked out an apology for the North, but promising not to touch Slavery in the part most woundable: there has been no manly anti-slavery speech in House or Senate till Mr. Hale broke the silence with a noble word. The Slave Power dealt the blows upon one Northern man, and silenced all the rest! 'The *safer* part of Valor is Discretion'! The South has many slaves not counted in the census. Ought they to represent *you?*

The Slave Power is conscious of strength, and sure of victory. It never felt so strong before. Look at this: the Treasury Department has just instructed the collectors not to permit a free negro to act as master of a vessel,—he is not a citizen of the United States. See what the Southern States are doing. A bill has been reported in the Senate of Louisiana, authorizing that State to import five thousand African slaves. If it becomes a law, the Government will not prevent the act; our worst enemy, the Supreme Court, is ready to declare unconstitutional the law which forbids the African slave trade: the South may import as many slaves as she likes; the Government is for her wickedness, not against that,—only against Justice and the Unalienable Rights of Man. Another bill is pending before the Virginia Legislature to banish or enslave all the 54,000 free colored persons in that State, where more than one President has been the father of a mulatto woman's child. The law to enslave them all may pass; the Federal Government cares nothing about it. African Rachel may mourn in vain for her first-born, and refuse to be comforted, because the Virginia Jacob chains the parti-colored Joseph that she bore to him; let her mourn! What does the Federal Herod care that in all Virginia there is a voice heard of lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning for the poor Rachel of Africa?

Stronger than ever before, at least in fancy, and yet more truly impudent than fancied strong, the Slave Power proposes two immediate measures:—

I. To pass the Lecompton Constitution through Congress, and force Slavery into the laws of Kansas, against the oft-repeated vote of the people.

II. To add seven thousand men to the standing army of the United States. They are nominally to put down the polygamous Mormons in Utah,—Satan contradicting the lies he is the father of!—but really to support the more grossly polygamous slaveholders; to force the Lecompton Constitution upon Kansas with the bayonet; in all the North, to execute the Fugitive Slave Bill, and the Dred Scott Decision, already made, and the Lemmon decision, about to be made, and establish Slavery in each free State; and also to put down any insurrection of the colored people at the South. The Mormons are the pretence no more; the army is raised against the Democracy of Massachusetts, not the Polygamy of Utah.

Ladies and Gentlemen, both of these measures will pass the Senate, pass the House. If it were the end of a Presidential term, I should expect they would be defeated. But men worship the rising sun, not the setting, who has no more *golden* light for them. A Boston merchant, with but $87,000, could bribe men enough to pass his tariff bill! The new President, he has more than $87,000,000,—offices for three years to come. The addition to the army will cost at least $5,000,000 a year, and the patronage that gives will command votes enough. I know how tender are the feelings of Congress; I know how politicians reject with scorn the idea that money or office could alter their vote; but we all know that a President, his pocket full of public money, his hands full of offices, can buy votes of Honorable Senators and Honorable Representatives just as readily as you can buy peanuts of the old huckster down stairs. I need not go from this hall, or its eastern neighbor, I need but go back seven years to find Honorable members of the 'Great and General Court of Massachusetts' who were bought with a price. I shall tell no names, though I know them only too well. Peter did repent, and Judas may—I will give him a chance. I expect, therefore, that both these measures will pass. Then you will find the Northern Democracy supporting them; future Conventions will ring with Resolutions in favor of the Lecompton Convention, and A GREAT STANDING ARMY will be one of the acknowledged Principles of the Democratic party—a toast on Independence Day.

When the two immediate measures are disposed of, there are three others a little more remote, which are likewise to be passed upon.

I. The first is to establish Slavery in all the Northern States,—the Dred Scott Decision has already put it in all the Territories. The Supreme Court will make a decision in the Lemmon case, and authorize any one of the Southern masters of the North to bring his slaves to any Northern State, and keep them as long as he pleases. Colored men 'have no rights which white men are bound to respect,'—so says the Supreme Court, which is greater than the Constitution; and if that be true generally, every where, then it will be true specially in Massachusetts. I have no doubt the Supreme Court will make the decision. We have no Judge Curtis to sit in that Court, and give his verdict for Law and Justice; his place is occupied by Hon. Nathan Clifford—a very different man, if I am rightly informed. When his nomination was before the Senate, Mr. Hale opposed it, and said Mr. Clifford was not reckoned a first-class lawyer in his own district—which comprises the greater part of New England; nor in his own State—the State of Maine; nor in his own county; nor even in his own town! Then, after Mr. Hale had reduced this vulgar fraction of law to his lowest terms, the Senate added to it the sum of the Supreme Court. He is strong enough for his function—to create new law for Slavery. His appointment must needs cause a judgment against him, but let us give him a fair trial. No doubt the Court will give the expected decision in the Lemmon case. Then this new article will be voted into the apostolic creed of the Democratic party, published by authority, and appointed to be read in caucuses and conventions. It may be 'said or sung,' as follows:—'I believe in the Fugitive Bill; I believe in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill; I believe in the Dred Scott Decision; I believe in the Lemmon Decision. As it was in the beginning, is now, and shall be evermore, world without end. Amen.'

II. The next measure is to conquer Mexico, Central America, and all the Northern Continent down to the Isthmus; to conquer Cuba, Hayti, Jamaica, all the West India Islands, and establish Slavery there. This conquest of the islands might seem rather a difficult work—it might require some fighting; but the late Hon. Senator Butler of South Carolina was very confident it would be done. We remember how he spoke of those Islands in a rambling speech which he once made, which was truth-telling because drunken. You smile; but if *in vino veritas* be good Latin, *à fortiori* is it good American to say, *there is more truth in whiskey, which is stronger.* In one of his fits of 'loose expectoration,' that distinguished Senator, a Representative man, like Bully Brooks, instantial and typical of his State, spoke of 'OUR Southern Islands,'—meaning Cuba, San-Domingo, Jamaica, Trinidad, St. Thomas, and the rest. He called them *our* islands, not that they were so then, or because he had any personal knowledge that they ever would be; but 'being in the Spirit' (of Slavery), and the Spirit (of Whiskey) being also in him—*imperium in imperio*—by this two-fold inspiration (of Slavery from without and Whiskey from within,) and from this double consciousness (out of the abundance of the stomach, the mouth also speaking), he prophesied (this medium of two spirits), not knowing what he said.

That is the second measure,—to re-annex the West Indies and the Continent.

III. The third measure is to restore the African slave trade. Now and then, the South puts forth a *feeler*, to try the weather; the further South you go, the more boldly are the feelers put out. South Carolina and Louisiana seem ready for this measure; and of course the Supreme Court is ready. You must not be surprised if yet another article be added to the Democratic Creed, and we hear Mr. Cushing deacon off this new Litany of Despotism with—'I believe in the African Slave Trade.'

[*Conclusion next week.*]

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 19, 1858.

CALEB CUSHING AND HIS SPEECH.

In its appropriate department—the 'Refuge' of Southern oppression and villany, and of Northern pro-slavery complicity—we have placed the harangue of 'Hon.' Caleb Cushing, made in the Massachusetts House of Representatives on the 2d instant, in support of his impudent 'order' to have the petitions of the people for the removal of Judge Loring hurled back into their faces—a speech which is a jumble of misrepresentation, falsehood, inconsistency and cant, revealing throughout the spirit of an arrant demagogue—a speech which elicited no rejoinder in the House at the time, not for any 'lack of courage,' as the puny *Transcript* ridiculously asserts, and as its vain-glorious author pretends to believe, but because the House wisely deemed the most effectual rebuke and the most conclusive reply to it would be instantly to reject the impudent 'order' aforesaid, which it did with an almost unanimous shout—Mr. Cushing disappearing like the smitten Dutchman through the floor, leaving only 'a small grease spot' to indicate all that remained of him! And this, too, after an hour's adroit and pain's-taking effort to inflame the minds of the Republican members, and induce them through exasperated feeling to vote for the 'order,' by ringing the changes upon one or two phrases used by Mr. Phillips in his telling speech at the State House, and perverting his language in the most wanton manner. There never was a more powerless speech made in any assembly. Don Quixotte was not more confounded by the manner in which his assault upon the fancied monster (in the shape of a windmill) terminated, than was Mr. Cushing by the summary decapitation of himself which followed his 'treasonable' effort. It was a very tragical conclusion of a very farcical exhibition!

It was the speech of Mr. Phillips that gave Mr. Cushing all the capital that he could find for the occasion. Mr. P. said, 'I despise the Republican party'—i. e., for its compromising spirit. Whereupon Mr. Cushing (and his owners at the South will please to take notice!) affects to be greatly shocked at such a damaging estimate of that party, and volunteers to do battle in its behalf, as worthy of all possible respect and commendation for its patriotism, its support of the Constitution, its attachment to the Union!—Caleb Cushing the special champion of the Republican party, and eager to break a lance with Wendell Phillips for despising it! What rare disinterestedness! what noble magnanimity! what generous self-sacrifice! Not a single member of that party in the House exhibited any restiveness on account of Mr. P's opinion of it—only Caleb Cushing, the 'Border-Ruffian' Democrat, the political associate of 'bully Brooks,' and rowdy Keitt, and the whole body of Southern slave-drivers, whose curses upon Republicanism are 'like the sands upon the sea-shore innumerable,' and who would rejoice to have every one connected with it summarily lynched! Will Mr. Cushing pretend that *he* does not heartily 'despise the Republican party'? But the difference between Mr. Phillips and himself, in this particular, is heaven-wide. Mr. P. despises it for its lack of courage, determination and activity in the cause of freedom—because it does not maintain its own ground with that boldness which ever commands respect, nor with that zeal which is essential to success, but allows itself to be intimidated by the outcries of a satanic democracy, and by the threats of an insolent slave oligarchy. Mr. Cushing despises it because it has some regard for Northern rights and liberties; because it has dared to resist some of the mandates of the Slave Power, and sought to baffle all its schemes for the territorial extension of the slave system; and because it contains a large infusion of the anti-slavery element in the free States, at least to the extent indicated. If, like himself, it were wholly unscrupulous—wholly lost to all regard for free institutions and the cause of bleeding humanity—and passively subservient to whatever the overscering South dictates—then, it would assuredly command his entire respect, and receive his highest laudation! His hot indignation, therefore, as expressed against Mr. Phillips with reference to the Republican party, is transparent hypocrisy; just as his constant reiteration of his superiority over the black man, and the right of the Anglo-Saxon race to put all other races, 'red, yellow and black,' beneath their feet, or if need be, to exterminate them from the face of the earth, exhibits the self-conceit of the peacock combined with the ferocity of the hyena.

Mr. Phillips thought 'a whipped spaniel, not a cod,' should be the emblem suspended in the Hall of the House of Representatives; plainly because Massachusetts submits all too meekly to the insults and outrages of Carolina and Virginia—as the entire North has uniformly done. Mr. Cushing applies this technically to the *Republican* party, and again manifests the greatest indignation at the insult! Need he make such a fool of himself?

Again, Mr. Phillips said,—not in a boasting spirit, but as an historical fact,—that what the Abolitionists have hitherto asked of the Legislature has been granted, and made 'to gild the statute book'; because they have made no request which has not ultimately commended itself to the wisdom, patriotism and humanity of the people of the Commonwealth, thus showing the aspersions cast upon them as 'fanatics' and 'madmen' to be equally silly and slanderous. Swelling with artificial indignation, Mr. Cushing exclaims, 'I deny that it is true that this Commonwealth is under the odious dictation of a band of disunionists, called an Anti-Slavery Society'!! Very well—but do you deny the facts of history, O sycophant of the Slave Power?

Mr. Phillips said, 'The South has other reasons for *despising* Massachusetts than because her barren soil bred Caleb Cushing.' Mr. Cushing uses the word *hate* for *despising*, thus essentially destroying the keenness of the sarcasm, and then gravely declares that he cannot see the wit or the logic of it! 'The South *hates* Massachusetts for her cowardice!' he exclaims—and then proceeds to make a ridiculous flourish about Pilgrim Fathers and Revolutionary sires! No, sir! The South *despises* Massachusetts for her timidity as against the Slave Power; and you know it to be true!

☞ Will Miss S. HOLLEY make known her present Post Office address to S. M., Jr., 21 Cornhill, Boston, as soon as possible? A letter was sent to her at Lockport, N. Y., some three weeks ago.

☞ Our friends in Abington and vicinity will see that the meeting there is postponed one week. This was a matter of necessity.

THE RIGHTS OF WOMAN.

The Committee of the Legislature, to whom were referred the petitions of a portion of the women of Massachusetts, protesting against being taxed while denied representation, and asking to be politically enfranchised, have granted the petitioners two hearings, through able advocates. At the first hearing, SAMUEL E. SEWALL, Esq., Dr. HARRIOT K. HUNT, and WENDELL PHILLIPS, were the speakers; and at the second, Mrs. C. H. DALL and Rev. T. W. HIGGINSON. The subject was very ably and thoroughly discussed, and we trust will secure the desired action on the part of the Committee and the Legislature. On our last page may be found the remarks of S. E. SEWALL, Esq., tersely and comprehensively expressed, and worthy of careful consideration. Mr. PHILLIPS touched, with his usual eloquence and power, upon all the important points. Mrs. DALL acquitted herself most acceptably, and was listened to by the Committee with great respect and manifest interest. [We shall print her admirable appeal in a subsequent number of our paper.] Mr. HIGGINSON made a very racy and telling speech, which we should be glad to lay before our readers, if we could obtain a report of it. On each occasion, the Hall of the House of Representatives was well filled by a most respectable and intelligent gathering of men and women, and also several members of the Legislature.

Our last page also contains an address, made by Mrs. LUCY STONE to the citizens of Orange, N. J., (her place of residence,) a few days since, elicited in consequence of the forcible seizure and sale of certain articles of property belonging to her, for refusing to pay a tax because denied the right of representation. She has met the responsibilities of the hour and discharged her duty nobly, operated upon by no impulsive feeling or foolish caprice, but acting with calm determination, a lofty spirit of self-sacrifice, in reference to the freedom, safety and happiness of her sex for all time to come. Who can read her address, without admiring the clearness of her intellect, the moral heroism of her nature, and the ability with which she advocates the cause of her sex—alias, THE RIGHTS OF HUMAN NATURE? Mr. HIGGINSON truly said, in the course of his plea, that the claims of woman are irresistible, and her arguments for equal political rights cannot be answered. They may be sneered at, misrepresented, caricatured, by vulgar and sensual minds—*they cannot be answered.* The natural and inalienable rights of one human being are those of every other.

In this connection, we would mention that Mrs. DALL completed her course of lectures on WOMAN AND HER CLAIMS, at the Meionaon, on Monday evening last. Although the attendance was by no means what the subject and the ability of the lecturer should have secured, (numerically speaking,) the audience at each lecture was remarkably critical and appreciative, and its verdict of a flattering character. The closing lecture gave special satisfaction.

WHO WILL NOT AID THIS BRAVE MAN?

Extract of a letter from WM. S. BAILEY, Editor of the Kentucky *Daily News*, to a friend in Boston, dated NEWPORT, Ky., Jan. 28, 1858:—

'This State is very much agitated on the slavery question just now. I learn from Mr. Bronston, of Richmond, Ky., that Rev. JOHN G. FEE and some other preacher were set on by a mob, and the strange preacher whipped upon the bare back *one hundred lashes*; and Mr. Fee was taken to the Kentucky river, with the expressed intention of ducking him until nearly drowned. But Mr. Fee prayed for his persecutors, that God might forgive them for the heartless cruelty they were about to inflict upon him, and they finally agreed to let him go. They cursed me and my paper, and all the Kentuckians who read it. We have kept a watchman at our house for two weeks past, lest some desperadoes might attack us in the night unawares. When they think I am "hard up," and without friends, they seek to annoy me the most; for they know that he who has money can have friends in Kentucky, and he who is poor, hunts friends in vain in time of need. I do not, however, feel in danger, and do not think my former friends would flinch before real danger.

'You are aware of our condition; and the 'hard times' has caused us to see two months of the closest economy. Our scant fires, thin bedding, and lean table, look bad for a family that is sacrificing in labor so much every day for the common cause of American freedom. I shall, however, never surrender; for it has cost me too much to gain my position on slave territory to give it up now.'

☞ Such a brave, indomitable spirit ought to be sustained at almost any cost.

THE BURNS CASE REVIVED. In the Supreme Court for Norfolk County, which convened at Dedham on Tuesday, the first case for trial was that of William H. Ela against Mayor Smith and others, for an alleged assault and battery inflicted on the plaintiff during the Burns tumult in this city. The damages are laid at $20,000. C. M. Ellis, Esq., appeared for the plaintiff, and Rufus Choate, George S. Hillard, and B. F. Hallett for the respondents. The plaintiff alleged, at a former trial, to having received very severe injuries from certain officials, while a passive spectator in the crowd near the foot of State street, during the rendition of Anthony Burns. He received a cut on the left side of his head an inch and a quarter long, and a severe blow on the chin—blood oozed from his mouth—and his mental faculties were temporarily impaired by the injuries inflicted. Indeed, Mr. Ellis represents his client to be permanently injured, and says that ever since last summer, advice has been given that he be sent to the Insane Hospital.

A NARROW ESCAPE. The New York mail train from the East, on the Central Railroad, was thrown off the track near Canastota, on Thursday night, in consequence of the breaking of a rail. Three passenger cars, filled with passengers, went down an embankment of about eight feet in height, and several persons were badly, though none dangerously injured. Among the passengers was WILLIAM WELLS BROWN; and the car in which he was riding landed bottom side up, but he was enabled to get out of one of the windows while the car was on fire, having received several pretty severe bruises.

☞ NEW MUSIC. The following pieces for the piano have been published by OLIVER DITSON & Co., 217 Washington street, Boston. They are numbered very nearly according to their merit. No. 6 will be found a pleasing arrangement of a popular air, and especially suited for beginners.

1. Wedding Bells. Etude de Salon, by Lefebure Wely.

2. A bord de l' Arago. Grande Valse brillante, par Wollenhaupt.

3. True love can ne'er forget. With variations. By F. Langguth.

4. Alexander Romanoff. New Russian Waltz, composed by Henri Laurent. (Being chiefly variations on the Russian Hymn and Krasnoe Saraphen.)

5. Woodside Quadrille. Composed by E. Von Nordhausen.

6. Annie Laurie. Arranged with variations by C. W. Glover.

Also, the following songs:

Gentle words and loving smiles. Ballad composed by Edward O. Eaton.

Somebody cares for me. Ballad, written and composed by Alice Foster.

The Land of Song. Romance, composed by Concone.

Dark the day of lovers parting. Lurline's

☞ Will Mr. GARRISON please give a place in the *Liberator* to the following, which was refused insertion in the *Christian Register*? C. K. W.

For the Christian Register.

RELATION OF UNITARIANISM TO CASTE.

The *Register*, in pleading guilty to the charge of the *Liberator*, that it neglected to announce, and to denounce, the injustice practised towards Mrs. Webb by the keeper of the Marlboro' Hotel, two years ago, suggests the following circumstances, apparently by way of extenuation.

1. 'The seven other religious papers of Boston did the same thing.'

2. 'In our very spare summary of secular news, we probably thought the occurrence not of sufficient public interest to be noticed.'

3. 'It is, unhappily, no rare event for our colored friends to be treated with indignity. Our silence is by no means approbation.'

Upon each of these points, I ask the privilege of making a few words of comment.

1. If the *Register* neither pretends to possess, nor aspires to attain, in regard to the education of the public in good manners, good morals and true religion, (all of which are concerned in this matter,) any higher, or juster, or *more liberal* ideas than 'the seven other religious papers of Boston'—if it really believes that to be no worse than the rest of the world is excellence sufficient for a teacher, or a minister, or a religious newspaper—I will give it all the indulgence which properly belongs to that position, and pass on.

2. It is true that a 'religious' newspaper has, comparatively, but a small space for a 'summary of *secular* news.' In its issue next following the *Telegraph's* announcement of the insult to Mrs. Webb, the *Register* devoted only a little more than two-and-a-half columns to this department, and in that of the succeeding week, only a little more than three columns. More than half of the space thus occupied on the former of these two weeks was engrossed by the following important matters: a flowery description of May-day—a commendation of Liberia (a place of banishment sometimes offered to slaves as the alternation of continuing in slavery)—chat about autographs, the Idlewild letters of N. P. Willis, and the increase of ministers' salaries—a direction of her majesty, Queen Victoria, to her majesty's biscuit-bakers—and the fall of a calf over the Genesee falls. About a third of the same department in the second week (when full editorial comments *might* have accompanied a statement of the fact that a respectable, intelligent and accomplished lady was insulted by the pious keeper of the Marlboro' Hotel, on account of her possessing a minute and imperceptible proportion of African blood,) was occupied by the following:—an Irish anecdote—an account of a man 116 years old—trivial details respecting the dress and manners of Louis Napoleon, and other royal and *noble* personages—and a serious account of the use of a piece of crape, by a slaveholder, in *respect* for the memory of a deceased slave, (without a word of comment on the emptiness of the hypocritical compliment, or upon the character of the master, who had spent his life in robbing and oppressing one whose worth extorted such a compliment, after death had mercifully restored his liberty.)

So much for the limitation of space, in the *Register*, for noticing 'secular matters.' But if it be true (and, unfortunately, I see no reason to doubt it,) that the readers of the *Register* are more interested in items like those above named than in the exposure and rebuke of a Pharisaism which, in exact imitation of its Hebrew ancestry, grinds the faces of the poor, and devours widows' houses, while offering ostentatious prayers to the public as proofs of its piety—has that paper no duty to perform in the cultivation of *better* principles in its readers? Does it invariably follow them, without *ever* attempting to *lead* them? Or does it assume, with Dr. Gannett, that the mission of Unitarianism to slavery is *silence*?

But, in further extenuation, the 'custom of the country' is pleaded. 'It is, unhappily, no rare event for our colored friends to be treated with indignity,' says the *Register*; and it adds, *naively*, 'our silence is by no means approbation.'

'Our colored friends,' forsooth! It must be a comfort to them (those of them who take the *Register*, and chance to spy this confession, in its obscure corner,) to know that its silence, when the next indignity shall be offered them, is not approbation of the indignity. Perhaps, when they die, the *Register* will imitate the slaveholder in tying a piece of crape on its office door, in token of a respect which would be mentioned in print if it were 'of sufficient public interest to be noticed.' But as for a word in season to stop the current of these indignities—now made manifest, every Sunday, in the practice of every Unitarian church in Boston, except those of James Freeman Clarke and Theodore Parker, and every day in the week, by Unitarians as well as others, in the 'secular' department—as for an appeal in favor of justice, humanity and Christian courtesy towards the victims of the abominable prejudice in question—the *Register* virtually says, 'I pray thee, have me excused.'

'Call you that backing of your friends? A plague upon such backing!'

To me it seems much more like 'passing by on the other side.' But perhaps the Priest and the Levite were not, in reality, so bad as they seemed. Perhaps they did not feel called upon to notice a 'secular' transaction. Perhaps their silence did not imply approbation of the thieves.

It seems to me, furthermore, that, with all the preaching, exposition and commentary with which the people of this land are favored, they do not at all comprehend the full meaning of the parable of the Good Samaritan. They are not told by the popular preachers and expositors, and, unfortunately, not being told, they do not notice, that this instructive parable not only enjoined help to the suffering or oppressed neighbor, but was directed *against* the consecrated or clerical class, with a specification of its two divisions, Priests and Levites; that this rebuke, singling out the Priests and Levites from all the rest of the community, was directed against, not any active wickedness on their part, but mere silence and inactivity, a neglect of the ordinary duties of humanity, a failure either to help the oppressed, or to lift up their voices against the oppressor; and that this very offence, which thus called forth the rebuke of the clear-sighted and fearless man of Nazareth, is practised in the same manner, at the present day, by the very classes in modern society corresponding to those which Jesus singled out for rebuke—of which you, O *Christian Register!* who practise this silence respecting oppression, and Dr. Gannett, who both practises and defends it, are note-worthy examples. What avails it you that your silence is not approbation? The slaveholder does not care for your approbation, but he earnestly desires your silence; and you give it, and pass by on the other side.

You 'plead guilty' to the charge of the *Liberator*. This is well, or would be well if you did not seek still to excuse yourself by reasons palpably insufficient. But the important question is, O *Christian Register!* having plead *guilty*, do you mean to reform? Since it is still, 'unhappily, no rare event for our colored friends to be treated with indignity,' do you mean to set yourself actively against a continuance of this state of things? For instance, do you mean to do something towards making it possible for a colored Unitarian to buy or hire a seat, or receive one casually as an act of courtesy, *on equal terms with others*, in Dr. Gannett's or Dr. Dewey's meeting-house?

I pause for a reply. C. K. W.

☞ We are obliged to postpone several Book Notices until next week, and also various communications. Correspondents must bide their time. Our columns cannot contain a tithe of the matter we are most anxious to lay before our readers.

ANTI-SLAVERY FESTIVAL.

On Thursday evening, January 28th, the citizens of Concord were favored with a rare entertainment, furnished by the members of the 'Concord Dramatic Union,' for the benefit of the Anti-Slavery Cause. The programme included two entire plays, 'The Jacobite' and 'Dr. Dilworth'; an exhibition of Mrs. Jarley's wax-work, and the interlude of Pyramus and Thisbe, from the 'Midsummer Night's Dream.' The extraordinary dramatic talent displayed by the members of the Union was fully appreciated and enjoyed by a large gathering of citizens and strangers.

The refreshment table furnished delicious fare for the appetite, and to those who took heed for the Future, a mysterious Fortune Teller disclosed the secrets of Destiny. The performances commenced with the following Prologue, from the pen of Mr. F. B. Sanborn, of Concord:—

PROLOGUE,

Spoken at the Anti-Slavery Festival, Concord, Jan. 28th, 1858.

Enter SLAVERY in a clerical dress, with a bottle in his hand in the form of a Bible, MANIFEST DESTINY in the dress of a Western pioneer.

MANIFEST DESTINY.

Can that my precious elder brother be?
Yes—no—it must be,—yes, t'is Slavery.
That parson's coat, long face and choker white,
Almost disguise his ugliness—not quite;
And under the meek broadcloth that he wears,
His belt a bowie-knife and pistol bears.
Is that a Bible in his hand, or one
Of those Stone Scriptures baked at Pennington?
But why, I wonder, does he look so blue?—
Well, brother Slavery, what's the word with you?

SLAVERY.

Manifest Destiny, my brother dear,
O let me pour my sorrows in your ear!

MANIFEST DESTINY.

First, let me pour your whiskey down my throat.
You're caught,—don't hide the bottle with your coat.

SLAVERY, (*gives him the bottle.*)

Well, brother, be the truth for once confess'd,
This is the Bible that I love the best;
For though I quote New Testament and Old,
To prove God loves to have his children sold,
Yet in my heart I hate 'em through and through,
And curse the gospel worse than any Jew.

MANIFEST DESTINY.

Brother, your liquor's prime,—but here,—you see
Prophets and 'Postles are all one to me.
But don't abuse the Bible! how it sounds
When Cushing comments and black Ross expounds!
Why, is not Walker, with his travelling sword,
Another Gideon chosen of the Lord?
The more 's the pity Paulding would not try,
As old Buchanan did, to work and lie,
But like a gray-haired blockhead as he is,
Could never see that *no* was meant for *yes*.

SLAVERY.

Don't talk of Paulding! See where Douglas stands,
Unravelling his own work with his own hands!
See how my hopes of Kansas come to nought,
Just when the game was won, or so I thought—
And he, my little giant and my joy,
Must stamp his foot and all my webs destroy!
O, I could shed such tears as never fell
From any eyes, except my sire's in——.

MANIFEST DESTINY, (*interrupting.*)

Well,
Things have an ugly look, I must allow;
But we'll arrange it,—let me tell you how:
Let Kansas go—her blood-besprinkled plains
Shall ne'er be added to your wide domains,—
No rust like Saxon blood to eat up chains!
But join with me by purchase or by war
To gain fair Cuba and Nicaragua.
Then shall your restless course be check'd no more,
Again the slave-ship shall approach our shore,
Not skulking nameless, with no flag display'd,
But flaunting stars and stripes at her mast-head.
Then Boston traders shall not fear to tell
How many men a year they steal and sell;
Then Bunker Hill the hunting-ground shall be,
Of slaves, nor even CONCORD shall be free!

Enter the GENIUS OF AMERICA.

AMERICA.

Begone, vile creatures! do ye plot your shame,
Here, where my maiden spear first won me fame?

[SLAVERY *and* MANIFEST DESTINY *run off.*]

Sad wandering in these base and altered times
Of timid virtues and enormous crimes,
Around the widening limits of my land,
Once more upon this sacred soil I stand;
These are the streets, there the still river runs,
That saw the victory of my former sons,
When envious Britain sought the limbs to chain,
That threatened rivalry by land and main.
Oh, days of honor! oh, unequalled race,
That then I fostered in my young embrace!
Fresh from the forest where my child I nursed
For either fortune, happiest or worst,
Great WASHINGTON came forth to guide my power.
When Time's slow hammer struck the solemn hour,
Stately and calm as woods and mountains are,
He held the double reins of peace and war.
Then FRANKLIN laid his printer's apron by,
And left the lightning harmless in the sky,
And let the lesser task of science wait,
To shape the fortunes of a forming State.
Wisest of wits! this ever-smiling sage
Kept youth's warm heart amid the snows of age!
Impetuous Adams, hopeful Jefferson,
Otis and Henry, Greene and Hamilton,—
How many noble sons I numbered then!
Now am I rich in lands, but poor in men.
The power that WASHINGTON would put aside,
The place by every virtue dignified,
In cheap transmission falls from hand to hand,
As knave or weakling rules the luckless land.
Laws totter, Freedom fails, and one black stain,
Which long I hoped to purge, but all in vain,
Now spreads its foul contagion through my race,
And millions boast their loathsomest disgrace.

What hope? what remedy? Must this endure?
My heart anticipates but one sad cure.
I, that did tie with unforeseeing hands
These infant States in ill-assorted bands,
Must now the consecrated work undo,
Nor seek to make one what Heaven meant for two.
Not Night and Morning meet with such recoil,
As heartless Slavery and honest Toil;
Where Labor is not king, he must be slave,
And Labor, in disgrace, digs Honor's grave.

Pray, then, ye children of the nobler dead,
To grow more worthy of the ground ye tread!
In toil and pastime to my fame be true,—
Forget not God, who ne'er forgetteth you;
Nor, though you trifle in these gloomy hours,
Believe that aught but earnest work endures.

☞ We regret to be obliged to divide the able speech of our friend THEODORE PARKER, delivered in the Hall of the House of Representatives, at the anniversary of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society; but its great length obliges us to do so. Give it a close perusal.

☞ It will be seen, by notices in another column, that the colored citizens of Boston are to hold two important public meetings in regard to their rights as Americans—one at the Joy Street Meeting-House, on Monday evening next—the other on the 5th of March, in Faneuil Hall, a grand historical commemorative meeting.

IMPORTANT MEETING OF COLORED CITIZENS.

The colored citizens of Boston and vicinity are requested to meet in the Joy street meeting-house, on MONDAY EVENING next, February 22d, at 7 o'clock, to consider the subject of the presentation of a Memorial to the Legislature of Massachusetts, now in session, in relation to their constitutional rights, and protesting against the tyrannical Dred Scott Decision. Mr. GARRISON and other speakers will be present on the occasion.

In behalf of many others,
WILLIAM C. NELL,
COFFIN PITTS,
JOHN T. HILTON,
SIMPSON H. LEWIS,
JOHN J. SMITH,
JONAS W. CLARK,
NELSON L. PERKINS,
ROBERT JOHNSON,
JOEL W. LEWIS,
JOHN THOMPSON,
JOHN WRIGHT,
M. R. DEMORTIE,
HENRY WEEDEN.

Boston, Feb. 16, 1858.

COMMEMORATIVE MEETING IN FANEUIL HALL.

☞ NOTICE.—The subscriber invites his fellow-citizens and the friends of humanity generally to Faneuil Hall, on Friday evening, March 5, 1858, for a public commemoration of the Boston Massacre of March 5, 1770, the day which, by the valor, patriotism and martyrdom of the colored American, CRISPUS ATTUCKS and his associates, has been selected by history as the dawn of the American Revolution.

The exercises will consist of speeches from WENDELL PHILLIPS, WM. LLOYD GARRISON, CHARLES LENOX REMOND, THEODORE PARKER, and others,—interspersed with appropriate music, vocal and instrumental; exhibition of revolutionary relics, emblems, &c. &c.—the whole promising an attractive and significant occasion.

Further particulars will be given in another number.

WILLIAM C. NELL.

Boston, February 3, 1858.

MR. FOSTER'S VIEWS.

WORCESTER, Feb. 11th, 1858.

DEAR GARRISON—Permit me, through the columns of THE LIBERATOR, to apprise your readers that they must not hold me responsible for the language, or sentiments, or the want of sentiments, with which I am accredited by the Secretaries of the recent anniversary of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in their report of my remarks on that occasion. Whatever may have been the merit, or the demerit, of those remarks, no one, from this report, can form any just opinion of them, or of the object they were designed to advocate. The language it ascribes to me is not mine, in any proper sense, and the report does me injustice by representing it as such. True, in the course of a speech of some length, I may have used most of the expressions attributed to me; but they are so disjointed and detached from their original connection, as entirely to destroy their force, and, in some instances, to totally pervert their meaning, and make me say the opposite of what I believe. Indeed, in the report, as a whole, I can recognize neither my own 'image' nor 'superscription;' and were not the fact attested by competent witnesses, I should hardly suspect it of being intended as a mirror in which to reflect upon the public mind my own peculiar views of political action.

I am aware that my views of the importance of political action against slavery, and of a party which shall avow the purpose of overthrowing it by the combined force of the friends of Freedom throughout the whole country, acting through the forms of law, are extremely unpopular, especially with my old associates. Of this, however, I do not complain. Far be it from me to desire any one to countenance, from motives of personal friendship, what he does not believe to be for the public good. But, in as much as these views, however mistaken, are honestly entertained, and are used for no sinister purposes, their very unpopularity would seem, with all generous minds, to be an additional reason for giving them an unprejudiced presentation to the public, that they may have a reasonable chance to stand, or fall, upon their own intrinsic merits.

Yours for *political*, as well as moral, action against slavery, S. S. FOSTER.

DEAR MR. GARRISON:

As one of the Secretaries of the recent Annual Meeting, and alone responsible for that portion of the report to which Mr. Foster alludes, will you allow me to say that I took unusual pains to listen to Mr. Foster's speech on Thursday, and to present a fair abstract of it? I took the more pains, as Mr. Foster had, on previous occasions, complained of injustice done to his speeches by the Secretaries. The official report never attempts to give the discussions *verbatim*—that would be impossible. I would ask all, who feel any interest in this matter, to read again the sketch of Mr. Foster's speech, as it appears in the Secretaries' report, (see *Liberator* of Feb. 5,) and say whether it is liable to Mr. Foster's criticisms. When I remember how impossible it has been for any of our speakers to represent Mr. Foster's views in a way to satisfy him, I cannot wonder at my own ill success. SAMUEL MAY, JR.

CORRECTION.

DEAR MR. GARRISON—Will you be so kind as to call special attention to the following error, made in printing PARKER PILLSBURY'S letter, in your last week's paper, on the Vermont Convention?

A little more than half-way through the letter, Mr. Pillsbury wrote, 'Mr. Goodell and Gov. Fletcher both spoke with great force and earnestness against dissolution. The *former*, [meaning Mr. Goodell, but your types made him say, the *Governor*,] for the hundredth time, perhaps, urged his most false, as well as ridiculous argument, that we have no moral right to dissolve the Union, because it would cut us off from the slaves, and prevent our ever acting any more for their deliverance,' &c. By the above-indicated error, Mr. Pillsbury is made to do an injustice to Gov. Fletcher, which he deeply regrets, and to say precisely the reverse of what he intended to say. Being confined by illness to his chamber, he desires me to make this correction, in his behalf.

Yours truly, S. M., JR.

SOMETHING FOR CONGRESS TO DO.

We have been requested to publish the following form of Petition to the Congress of the United States, and doubt not it will secure a large number of signatures, if some efforts should be made to circulate it:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:

The undersigned, citizens of ——, Massachusetts, respectfully ask that provision may be made by law for the education, in common schools, of all children resident in the District of Columbia and in the Territories of the United States, between the ages of five and sixteen years, without discrimination of condition, sex, or color.

THE SLAVE BETTY. The Lawrence *American* says that the slave woman, Betty, whose case caused some little excitement in this city some few months ago, and who refused to accept her liberty, after returning with Mrs. Sweet to New York, suddenly left her mistress whom she loved so much, took passage upon the under-ground railroad, and safely escaped to Cincinnati, where she was joined by her husband, who is a free man.

THE VOICE OF MASSACHUSETTS.

In the Massachusetts House of Representatives, on Saturday last, Mr. PRESCOTT, of Salem, asked leave to introduce the following Resolutions:—

Resolved, That we have an abiding faith in the ability and strict integrity of purpose which characterized the patriots who framed and adopted the Constitution, and form of government under which we live, and that we rely with unwavering confidence upon the interpretation by them given of the intent and meaning of the compromises thereof, as manifested in the early administration of the government. That by such an interpretation, and such only, can slavery, now the fruitful source of alarming agitation in the halls of Congress and elsewhere, cease to be fraught with danger to the peace and welfare of the nation, and that we accept and adhere to their policy and interpretation, with the determination, while we avoid all encroachment upon the rights of other portions of the confederacy, never to yield to attacks, open or insidious, upon our own, from whatever quarter they may come.

Resolved, That the Democratic party of this country, and especially of the North, has, since the passage of the Compromise act of 1850, abandoned the policy and the principles on the subject of slavery, before maintained as a part of its platform and laws and political faith, and has introduced therein doctrines new and inconsistent, dangerous, and fraught with consequences fearfully momentous to the interest of freedom not only in the North, but throughout the world. That as the natural fruit thereof, the late administration of Franklin Pierce, and the present administration of James Buchanan, have yielded to the dangerous demands of the South, for a sectional and partial legislation and administration of the affairs of State; for a violation of national faith in the attempted repeal of the Missouri Compromise; for a disregard of the fundamental principles of political justice in the administration of the affairs in Kansas; for aiding and abetting, so far as was in their power, armed invasions of the Territory by the citizens of Missouri and other Southern States, for the avowed purpose of interfering with elections; for the utter and shameless violation of the purity of the ballot-box, and passage of laws inconsistent with free government, the denial of the right of suffrage, the introduction of odious and oppressive test oaths, the manufacture of spurious registers, the falsification of the returns of elections, the wanton destruction of property, the pillage of private dwellings, and the brutal murder of unoffending citizens; many of which deeds were perpetrated by its own officers, unrebuked, all impliedly sanctioned by the withholding of any expression of disapprobation, and in whole or in part by the presence of the army of the United States, as a posse comitatus, and finally in many cases by falsely charging the friends of freedom of the very crimes of which its foes had been guilty, in the face of incontrovertible proof that the charges were false.

Resolved, That the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dred Scott decision has attempted to overrule a doctrine, old as the Constitution of the country, sustained and practised by the fathers of the republic, all the Presidents of the United States, with their constitutional advisers, until the inauguration of Franklin Pierce; by the Courts of nearly all the States in the Union; by the early decrees of the Supreme Court itself, and by the united sentiment of the entire nation. That this sudden and unprecedented effort to overthrow established law, is a deed perpetrated in obedience to the demands of the slave power at the South, supported and sustained by the National Administration; and that, as a result, it introduces into the very vortex of the party politics of our country, not only the *decision* of the Court, but the tribunal itself by which the decision is pronounced; that we do not and *will not* acknowledge the validity or binding power of the latter, against the concurrent practice and opinion of all departments of the government, and all the statesmen and jurists of the nation for sixty years; and that as a right never should be yielded, we inflexibly demand a reversal of this unsupported innovation, and a recognition of the former well established principles and doctrines.

Resolved, That the attempt to force the Lecompton Constitution upon the unwilling people of Kansas is an act of tyranny, a violation of every principle of justice, and a dishonor to the Administration by which it has been attempted; and that our Senators in Congress be instructed, and the Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts requested, to use all constitutional and honorable means to prevent the commission of this stupendous crime against justice, nature, and the rights of man.

The resolves, as above, were read for the information of the House.

After the resolutions had been read, Mr. CUSHING, of Newburyport, said it was an ungracious task to seem to object to the reception of any resolutions of any kind, and he did not object to these. If the gentleman from Salem, however, was now ready to debate the questions involved in the resolutions, he (Mr. C.) was also ready, and he pledged himself to show that all of the propositions contained in the resolves were untrue. He would not have risen were it not for one consideration. The second resolution contained certain statements as to the late Administration, of which he had been a member, and not a passive member. It is due to my honor (said Mr. C.) not to let a moment pass without interposing, not an argument, but an emphatic, distinct and comprehensive denial of the second resolution, every word of it, from beginning to end.

Leave was granted to introduce the resolves, by a vote of 114 to 58. They were then referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

GEORGE BANCROFT AGAINST THE LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION.

NEW YORK, Feb. 15.

The speech which the Hon. George Bancroft was to have delivered to the Anti-Lecompton meeting, had it been held on Friday evening, is published this morning. He holds, that the Lecompton Constitution has no claim to sovereignty in Kansas but by usurpation; that it had in no wise the sanction of Congress, nor of the President, nor of the people of Kansas, and was but a cunning device to defraud the people of their sovereignty.

Mr. B. exposes the various frauds committed in the election in Kansas. Denies that there is any present danger to the Union. Says there is no insurrection or rebellion in Kansas. Asserts that the supporters of the Lecompton Constitution have not one square inch of Democratic ground to stand upon, and says there is no precedent for enforcing a Constitution against the will of the people. The following is the concluding portion of the address:

The policy of forcing the Lecompton Constitution on an unwilling people is neither wise, expedient, nor possible. Principle is the true diviner, by which the President of a free people sways the millions and secures majorities for his measures in Congress. The neglect of principle for temporizing expediency always loses the respect of majorities in Congress and out of it. The Ship of State is water-logged—throw the Lecompton Constitution overboard. Let principle take the helm, and the bark will spring forward on its way, as in the best years of our Republic. Ours is the cause of peace and order—of true democracy—of Union—of freedom. All good omens are with us. For our part, we are resolved to walk in the central path of humanity, shunning sectionalism and fanaticism on the one side, and subserviency to dictation on the other. True democracy inscribes on its banner the rights of the States and the sovereignty of the people. It upholds freedom to the individual in the State—freedom to the State in the Union—and the indefeasible right of the majority, whether in the State or the Territory, calmly, deliberately and undisturbed to form and accept or reject constitutions for themselves.

THE ALLEGED KIDNAPPING CASE. Sergeant Croft and officer McArthur of the police force attached to the Mayor's office, reached here on Monday morning from Richmond, Va., with Mason Thomas, the alleged kidnapper, and George Anderson, the negro, in charge. The officers state that an effort was on foot to detain the parties in Richmond, but becoming apprised of it at a late hour on Friday night, they took Thomas and the negro out of jail (on the order of the Governor of Virginia) and started for New York at four o'clock on Saturday morning, before Thomas's lawyer could serve the writ of habeas corpus. Thomas was sent before the Court of General Sessions, to answer the indictment, and was committed in default of bail for $10,000. Anderson was also committed as a witness, not being able to give bail in $1,000 for his appearance.—*N. Y. Journal of Commerce.*

Arrest of a Kidnapper.—LOUISVILLE, Feb. 12. A private despatch says that N. B. Van Turyle, who kidnapped two free negroes at Geneva, New York, and sold one as a slave in this State, has been arrested in New Orleans, and waits a requisition from the Governor of Kentucky.

☞ A correspondent of the New Orleans *Picayune* writes from Havana, Feb. 2, that the American brig Telegraph had just arrived, and landed four hundred, out of six hundred negroes originally shipped on the Coast of Africa.

Washington, Feb. 14.—Gen. Houston intends to-morrow to offer a resolution instructing the Committee on Foreign Affairs to inquire into the expediency of assuming the protectorate over the people of Mexico and Central America, inasmuch as they have shown to the whole world they are incapable of self-government. [!!!]

PLEDGES

To Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, at Annual Meeting, 1858.

Francis Jackson	$200 00
Charles F. Hovey, (for Agents,)	200 00
Wendell Phillips	100 00
Samuel Philbrick	100 00
Edmund Jackson	100 00
E. D. and Anna F. Draper	100 00
David and Charlotte A. Joy	50 00
Mary May	50 00
W. W. and M. A. Dutcher, Hopedale	50 00
Albert M. Chase	50 00
Samuel May, Jr.	50 00
Weymouth Female A. S. Society	25 00
Mary G. Chapman	20 00
Maria W. Chapman (also to obtain 25 subscribers to the *Standard.*)	10 00
Otis G. Cheever	10 00
John C. Haynes	10 00
Edward B. Perkins, Salem	9 00
Austin Bearse	5 00
Jacob Leonard	5 00
J. G. Dodge	5 00
M. G. Kimball	5 00
J. W. Spaulding	5 00
Silvanus Smith	5 00
Ira Adams	5 00
Lydia LeFavre	5 00
R. Smith	5 00
Susan Allen, Stoneham	2 00
Deborah Kimball, Hanover	2 00
A Bicknell	1 00
Eben S. Page	1 00
William Lovell	1 00

DONATIONS

To Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, at Annual Meeting, 1858.

Friend in Essex Co.	$25 00
Richard Clap	20 00
J. M. Aldrich, Fall River	20 00
Samuel Barrett, Concord	15 00
Joshua Coolidge, Jr.	10 00
William Ashby	10 00
T. Davis	10 00
Frances Mary Robbins	5 00
T. C. Severance	5 00
Henrietta Sargent	5 00
William Jenkins	5 00
William Whipper, Columbia, Pa.	5 00
J. L. Whiting	3 00
Rebekah H. Foster	3 00
Mrs. A. Kent, (for Agents)	3 00
Martha B. Goodrich	3 00
T. G. Elliott	2 00
Lucy M. Rogers	2 00
James Damon	2 00
Sarah Smith	2 00
Mary May	2 00
Lewis McLauthlin	2 00

COLLECTIONS

By Finance Committee, at Annual Meeting, 1858.

David Merritt	$1 00	Mehitable Haskell	1 00
John Clement	1 00	P. Shaw	1 00
Joshua Coolidge, Jr.	1 00	Betsey H. Shaw	1 00
E. H. Morrill	0 50	Geo. Hollingsworth	1 00
Mrs. Stebbins	0 50	Wm. Sparrell	1 00
I. Baxter	1 00	E. Jenkins	0 25
James Jackson	1 00	Francis Jackson	5 00
Samuel May, Jr.,	2 00	Moses Wilmarth	1 00
Mrs. Hovey	1 00	M. W. Chapman	1 00
Susan A. Rand	0 50	Mary H. Jackson	1 00
L. A. Allen	1 00	G. W. Stacy	0 50
Mary G. Chapman	1 00	Susan C. Cabot	1 25
S. S. Russell	2 00	Lawrence	1 00
W. S. McLauthlin	0 50	P. C. Wheeler	1 00
Dora M. Taft	1 00	W. B. Earle	0 25
M. S. Bowker	1 00	T. M. Pitman	1 00
T. J. Hunt	1 00	A. B. Morey	1 00
Lewis Ford	1 00	J. T. Hilton	1 00
Bourne Spooner	1 00	M. J. Silloway	1 00
Edmund Quincy	2 00	Stephen Barker	1 00
Nelson W. Cook	1 00	Mary May	1 00
E. F. Burnham	2 00	C. Cowing	1 00
M. Richards	0 50	J. Prince	1 00
Wendell Phillips	3 00	J. S. Adams	1 00
H. A. Morse	1 00	D. B. Bartlett	0 50
James N. Buffum	1 00	A. M. Henshaw	1 00
Ruth Buffum	1 00	A. Haskell	1 00
Sarah H. Cowing	0 50	Jacob Leonard	0 65
Louisa J. Whiting	1 00	Charles Follen	1 00
J. G. Dodge	0 50	Deborah Weston	1 00
Perley King	2 00	Charlotte A. Joy	1 00
Henry I. Bowditch	2 00	William Ashby	1 00
Elbridge Sprague	1 00	A. Foster	1 00
Martha Clapp	1 00	Melzar Sprague	1 00
J. W.	0 50	E. D. Draper	1 00
Otis G. Cheever	1 00	J. M. Aldrich	1 00
James Arnold	0 25	C. F. Hovey	2 50
John S. Rogers	1 00	W. W. Dutcher	1 00
Mary Willey	0 50	M. A. Dutcher	1 00
F. W. Bird	1 00	Geo. Draper	1 00
J. W. Spaulding	1 00	Hannah B. Draper	1 00
J. T. Sargent	2 00	H. W. Carter	1 00
J. R. Manley	1 00	J. Jones	1 00
J. S. Emery	1 00	E. and E. Richards	2 00
Henry Whiting	1 00	Amos T. Draper	1 00
J. C. Lindsley	1 50	Carrie M. Otis	1 00
Geo. W. Simonds	1 00	H. B. Emerson	1 00
E. F. Eddy	2 00	M. A. G. Otis	1 00
J. H. Crane	1 00	F. Young	0 50
E. L. Capron	1 00	C. K. Whipple	1 00
E. L. Follen	1 00	Geo. Miles	1 00
Isaac Osgood	1 00	E. P. Hammond	1 00
J. Hayward	1 00	M. A. Sylvester	1 00
Martha B. Goodrich	1 00	W. L. Garrison	1 00
Mrs. A. Kent	0 50	Daniel Mann	1 00
Ira Adams	1 00	J. C. Haynes	1 00
H. C. Fifield	1 00	F. H. Henshaw	1 00
D. Kimball	1 00	'Cash' Collections	25 96
Richard Clap	1 00	Cash received at door,	
Helen E. Garrison	1 00	one evening,	32 70

☞ WM. LLOYD GARRISON will give a second address on Slavery in Lyceum Hall, DORCHESTER, (near Rev. Mr. Hall's meeting-house,) on TUESDAY EVENING NEXT, Feb. 23, at half-past 7 o'clock.

☞ NORTH ABINGTON.—An Anti-Slavery meeting will be held at UNION HALL, North Abington, on SUNDAY, (day and evening,) Feb. 28. W. L. GARRISON and SAMUEL MAY, JR., are expected to attend. Friends in neighboring towns are invited.

☞ CHARLES SPEAR will repeat, by request, his Address on 'The Church, the Home, and the Prison,' in the Second Universalist Church, School street, on next Sunday evening, at 7 o'clock.

NOTICE.—HENRY C. WRIGHT will lecture in Pepperell, on Sunday, the 21st—and in Nashua, on Sunday, the 28th. In each place, meetings will be held all day and evening.

☞ CONVENTION IN EASTERN NEW YORK.—A Convention will be held in ALBANY, on Monday and Tuesday, March 8 and 9, to commence at 10 o'clock, A. M., Monday, and continue by adjournment through that and the following day.

Speakers: Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Rev. Samuel J. May, Aaron M. Powell, Charles Lenox Remond, Susan B. Anthony.

The friends of freedom, in all the neighboring towns especially, as well as at a more remote distance, are most cordially invited to 'help the cause along' by their presence and coöperation, as the occasion promises to be one of great interest and importance. Those who wish to hear Mr. PHILLIPS must be at the afternoon and evening meetings of the 8th, as he cannot be present at any of the subsequent meetings.

☞ A similar Convention will be held in HUDSON, N. Y., on THURSDAY and FRIDAY, March 11th and 12th—at which W. L. Garrison, C. L. Remond, A. M. Powell, and S. B. Anthony will be present.

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J. H. EATON, *Pres. Union Univ., Tenn.* 'I have used Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum but very irregularly, but, notwithstanding, its influence was distinctly visible. *The falling off of hair ceased, and my locks, which were quite gray, restored to their original black.*'

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POETRY.

For the Liberator.

COARSE LANGUAGE AND CRUEL DEEDS.

Say, why does the self-styled so chivalrous South
Use words that would soil any gentleman's mouth,—
Words, epithets, even for the lowest unfit?
Does it think such speech eloquence, reason, or wit?

At its newspapers' columns one shrinks as one reads;
But, if such be its words, wonder not at its deeds!
Coarse, and coarser, more vulgar the language it grows,
As the writers cower trembling 'neath Freedom's hard blows.

But perhaps I mistake, and these words and their order
Have altered their meaning since crossing the border;
And the South, so unique in its family slavery,
They really believe bad words constitute bravery.

They believe the true gentleman need not *be* gentle,
Just, generous, true, with accomplishments mental;
And though brave as a lion, be courteous as brave,
And too noble himself to hold any a slave.

The South, in its own most peculiar way,
No doubt thinks black and white made of different clay;
And its gentlemen show both good breeding and right,
By beating the black man because he's not white.

The South holds it lawful and graceful to tar
Its ministers, should any venture so far
As to hint that a chivalrous Southron should do
To a black man as he himself would be done to.

And they may be right, and the world may be wrong,
And the gentleman's language be coarse as 'tis strong;
And it may be childish, and vulgar, and weak
To be gentle, and courteous, and mild when we speak.

Tenterden, (England.) JANE ASHBY.

HUMAN SOULS.

Human souls of every kind
Sail the human sea;
Some have vessels to their mind,
Riding fast and free.
Others' vessels dwarfed, confined,
Unseaworthy be—
Some souls see, and some are blind,
Having eyes to see.

Some souls have their firmament
Light with golden stars;
Some are shaded in, and pent,
Rimmed with vapory tears.
Some, with heavenly radiance blent,
Ever reach to Mars;
Some are with the rain besprent
Underneath the stars.

Some souls twinkle, some souls shine,
Others neither one;
Some like diamonds in the mine,
Others, in the sun.
Some souls roam the starry park,
Some walk in the shade;
Some lie in the mouldy dark,
Down where graves are made.

Some souls habitations make,
Hemmed with mortal shrouds;
Some build grandly in the break
Of the drifting clouds.
Some souls ring with music spent,
Whence its source is found;
Others are with discord rent
From the trodden ground.

Human souls of every grade
Build the best they choose;
Each can give another aid—
Some give, some refuse.
Some are dowered with sunlight streams
From the heavenly seas;
Others not, and many gleams
Those may give to these.

THE KING IS COLD.

BY ROBERT BROWNING.

Rake the embers, blow the coals,
Kindle at once a roaring fire;
Here's some paper—'tis nothing, sire—
Light it—(they've saved a thousand souls!)
Run for faggots, you scurvy knaves,
There are plenty out in the public square—
You know they fry the heretics there.
(But God remembers their nameless graves!)
Fly, fly, or the king may die!
Ugh! his royal feet are like snow,
And the cold is mounting up to his heart,
(But that was frozen long ago!)
Rascals! varlets! do as you're told—
The king is cold.

His bed of state is a grand affair,
With sheets of satin and pillows of down;
And close beside it stands a crown:
But that won't keep him from dying there.
His hands are wrinkled, his hair is gray,
And his ancient blood is sluggish and thin;
When he was young, it was hot with sin;
But that is over this many a day!
Under these sheets of satin and lace
He slept in the arms of his concubines;
Now they 'rouse with the prince, instead,
Drinking the maddest, merriest wines.
It's pleasant to hear such catches trolled,
Now the king is cold.

What shall I do with his Majesty now?
For, thanks to my potion, the man is dead;
Suppose I bolster him up in bed,
And fix the crown again on his brow?
That would be merry—but then, the prince
Would tumble it down, I know, in a trice.
'Twould puzzle the devil to name a vice
That would make his excellent highness wince!
Hark! he's coming; I know his step;
He's stealing to see if his wishes are true.
Sire, may your father's end be yours!
(With just such a son to murder you!)
Peace to the dead! Let the bells be tolled—
The king is cold.

LITTLE NOBODY.

BY CHARLES MACKAY.

When the tempest flies
O'er the cloudy skies,
And from crag to crag the frantic thunders ride;
When the lightning stroke
Has destroyed the oak,
Safely down below the little violets hide.
In the strife appalling,
When the proud are falling,
Little men can rest, or watch unheeded by;
Blow, ye storms of Fate,
On the rich and great;
I'm but little Nobody—Nobody am I.

Pebbles on the shore
Dread no billows' roar,
But the mighty ships, deep-laden in the hold,
With a thousand men,
Steering home again,
Founder oftentimes with both men and gold.
Feathers fall but slowly,
And the poor and lowly
Fall, and are unhurt—while greatness falls to die;
Kings may wake to weep,
While their ploughmen sleep:
Who would be a Somebody?—Nobody am I.

Hear it, ye Senates! hear this truth sublime—
He who allows oppression shares the crime.

The Liberator.

RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN.

REMARKS OF HON. SAM'L E. SEWALL,

Before the Legislative Committee on the Qualification of Voters, to whom were referred the petitions for the extension of the Right of Suffrage to Woman,—Wednesday, P. M., Feb'y 3, 1858.

[Phonographically reported by J. M. W. YERRINTON.]

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Committee:

I regret that my name has been announced in the papers as one of the speakers on this occasion, as I have not a great deal to say, and have had no time for that preparation which I should wish to make before attempting to speak, at any length, on so important a question as the one before you. I also regret exceedingly that Mrs. Dall is not here, on account of a death which has occurred in her family; but I hope the Committee will have an opportunity of hearing her upon another occasion.

The question before you, gentlemen, as to the right, which women claim, of suffrage, as it strikes me, seems a very simple one, and easy of solution. I look upon it merely in the light of *right*. What is the *right* of women in this respect? Why, I ask, have women any less right to vote than men? I can see no sufficient answer. I look at the Declaration of Independence, and I find there the words—'All men are created equal.' 'Men,' I understand to mean the whole human race—including women as well as men. I do not look upon these words as a mere rhetorical abstraction, as Southern gentlemen do, at present; I consider them as living and self-evident truths, as the Declaration itself has styled them. 'All men are created equal.' 'Equal' in what respect? Not in strength of body; not in strength of mind; not in property. In what respect, then, are they 'equal'? 'Equal' in natural rights—'equal' in the rights given them by their Creator.

Now, then, are women in this Commonwealth treated as if they were the 'equals,' in natural rights, of men? Our Constitution says—'All men are born free and equal.' Almost the same words as those of the Declaration, and their significance the same, as it regards this question. Now, I say, the great natural right which we all recognize in regard to men is, that every man shall have a voice in the government; that he shall be himself, or by his representative, a part of the government of which he is a subject. Women are subjects of this government; they cannot free themselves from it, any more than men; and yet they have no voice, directly, or by their representative, in enacting the laws. Are they 'equal,' then, to men? It is impossible for any man to say that they are; and it is nothing but custom, nothing but prejudice, which prevents us from seeing this question in its true light.

The great war-cry of the Revolution, gentlemen, was, that 'Taxation without representation is tyranny.' There is a lady here [Dr. HARRIOT K. HUNT] who has herself felt the evils of this taxation without representation, and who has, for years, uttered her protest against it, and who, I hope, will address you more particularly upon this very subject,—taxation without representation. But the declaration, that 'taxation without representation is tyranny,' is merely one branch of this great principle, that every person under a government has a right to a voice in that government. Then why not women as well as men? If women are to be taxed, why have they not a voice in regard to the assessment of the taxes? Why should they not have a voice in regard to the mode in which the taxes should be appropriated? Have they not precisely the same interest in this subject that men have? And so it is in regard to every other law, for all laws touch women as well as men; and if they have the same interest as men, why should they not have the same right to share in making the laws?

It is in vain to say, that the practical effect of women having no voice in making the laws which affect them, has not been injurious to them. We all see the contrary. And although public opinion has done much to improve the condition of women, under the law, yet it has not entirely removed the inequality. I speak not now of the customs of barbarous ages, by which women have been little better than slaves; but I say, in regard to the law, women are now, at this moment, almost in the position of slaves,—that is, they have no power to regulate the laws by which they are governed; and although they are not oppressed like slaves, the principle by which they are governed is the same as that by which slaves are made subject to their masters. The operation of this principle, that one class may make laws to govern another, is, as I have said, always bad. The laws made by men have always proved oppressive to women everywhere. I know of no exception to this statement. In Rome, during a long period, women were in a state of perpetual pupilage,—never their own masters, but always subject to their male relatives. The Voconian law strikingly illustrates the feeling with which one sex legislates for the other. It prohibited any one from making a will leaving his property to a woman, married or single: ['*Neguis virginem neque multierem heredem faceret.*'] Why was this? Evidently because women had no voice in legislation. A gentleman said to me to-day, when speaking on this subject—'Why, women are an inferior race!' They have been treated as such; and this sort of treatment is likely to perpetuate the inferiority, if there be any.

In our own laws, and in those of England, from which ours are derived, I see the same oppressive treatment of the female sex. Women are treated as inferiors. I need scarcely allude to the Salic law, which cut off women from inheritances; and which even to our own times prevented any female from ascending the throne of France. I look at the laws of England, and I see that the male is always preferred to the female in inheritances. And although here, males and females are on an equality as heirs, yet when we come to consider the rights of property in married women, though they have undoubtedly been much ameliorated within a few years, yet for centuries the law was, that every man became the owner of his wife's personal property at marriage, and had the entire control of all her real property. That was the law in our own and neighboring States, though it has been recently much modified in other States, as well as in our own. But this injustice never could have remained, as it did, for centuries, if women had had a voice in making the laws.

Then in regard to the law of divorce, the inequality is not yet remedied, even here. But in England, where no divorces are allowed—(that is, I mean, where no entire divorces are allowed; divorces from bed and board, which are not complete divorces, are allowed there)—I say, in England, where no divorces are allowed, except by act of Parliament, for the single cause of adultery, no woman, except in one or two extraordinary cases, was ever allowed to get a divorce, although every year men are divorced from their wives by Parliament.

The law of property to which I have alluded, giving the absolute control of the wife's property to the husband, has had the most disastrous effects every where. Women were not only deprived of all their property, but of all their earnings after marriage. Women could not earn, as keepers of boarding-houses, as washer-women, by any handicraft, by any head-work, by any means, any property which did not become the property of a miserable husband, or, if the husband was not miserable, which was not liable to be the prey of his creditors. The wife had no protection. I am thankful that the law of this State has given a degree of protection to women in this respect.

Then as to the law of divorce. Though women are, in the eye of the law of this State, as regards divorce, on an equality with their husbands, yet the practical operation of the law is very different, because the man, having the greater power over the woman, can force her to live with him against her will; and this is often done. Miserable, wretched, drunken husbands, who are complete nuisances, often compel their wives to live with them. It is a common thing for women to run away from their husbands, and hide themselves, for protection. As yet, the law has furnished no redress in such cases. I allude particularly to the case of drunkenness on the part of the husband. There are many other things which may make a husband very obnoxious to a wife, and in which, I think, divorces ought to be granted; but I think no person, who is an habitual drunkard, ought to be tolerated as a husband by any wife. Some of the States have redressed this wrong.

In regard to the person of the wife. The law gives the husband the right to his wife's person. The husband can seize her and keep her against her will, and compel her to live with him. Is this to be tolerated in a free country,—that one person should be the absolute slave of another? To be sure, that law is not very much enforced just now; the courts will not grant a *habeas corpus* to give the husband possession of his wife as they would at one time; but still, it is wrong to give a man such power over his wife. I say, the voice of females in legislation would help to correct such an evil as that.

Then, in regard to children. Our law has been very much improved in this respect. Formerly, the husband had absolute control and power over the children, and could tear the nursing child from the mother's arms, and there was no protection for her. I say, that would not have been tolerated, if women had had a voice in legislation. The courts now have the power of interfering, to protect the rights of women in taking charge of their children.

The only arguments that I have ever heard urged against women having a share in legislation, with any seriousness, are two: first, that she is incompetent; and, second, that there would be a great impropriety in women appearing at the polls, and mixing too much with men. In regard to the matter of incompetency, it seems to me perfectly ridiculous to urge such an argument as that, (without going into the question of the equality of sexes, or in what respect man is superior to woman, or woman superior to man,—a question which I do not wish to touch at this time)—it is ridiculous, I repeat, to urge such an argument, when we all know that many women are superior to many men, and that some women are the peers of the very ablest men, in the very respects in which we consider man the superior. This is a point that no one will deny; not even those who assert the general superiority of men over women. And now, as we do not pretend to exclude the most inferior men, certainly men who are far inferior to the great mass of women, from the right of suffrage, on account of their inferiority, why should we exclude women on any such ground? I say, it is a violation of natural right.

But, gentlemen, this argument of the incompetency of women, and the argument that men will take care of women, are the arguments that tyrants have always urged in cases of the same kind. The despot says that the people do not know how to take care of themselves; that he can take better care of them than they can of themselves. So it is in aristocracies. It is always urged that the bulk of the people are inferior; that they cannot legislate for themselves; that the higher classes in the community can take better care of them than they can of themselves. Now, what has been the result? The history of the world shows, in regard to Despotisms and in regard to Aristocracies, that the rights of the inferior classes, or the classes that are governed by others, are never protected; that the Aristocracies always legislate for their own class. Is it not manifest in England, which has always been governed by an aristocracy, that the other classes, not the aristocracy, have felt the weight of taxation?—and it is not until within a very few years that an income tax, which reached the aristocracy, has passed. There are other laws, to which I need not allude. But it is so in all ages and nations: the class that is not represented in the government is uniformly oppressed,—the slaves, the serfs, the peasantry, the commonalty, are every where oppressed. So it is with women; and although the intelligence and justice of the present age have done much to improve the condition of women under the law, yet still, much remains to be done.

As to the propriety of women going to the polls, or discussing questions of politics in caucusses, I only say, that the result of woman's presence at those places would be, that they would be conducted with more decency and propriety than they sometimes are now. Everybody knows that; and everybody knows this, too—that where women enjoy the greatest freedom, and mix the most unrestrictedly with the other sex, there is likely to be the greatest virtue. Certainly, we in this country do not regret at all that women here are more free in their movements than in the East. I do not think that there is less virtue among our women than there is in the Asiatic harems. We all know the reverse.

But I think, gentlemen, that women, having a voice in legislation, would not merely influence those laws which affect them more particularly, but that it would go far beyond to other laws. Slavery would have been abolished by Great Britain long before it was, if women had had a voice in the government. Capital punishment, which is, to a great extent, abolished, both in this country and in England, would have disappeared much more rapidly, if women had had a voice in making the laws. And it is apparent that the humanity and conscientiousness of women would have a great effect in legislation, if they participated in it. I do not know how much share they would take in it. It is impossible for me to say. I do not know how many women would vote, or how many would hold office; but I say that it is their *right;* and I say, too, that the more their influence is felt, the better will it be for the community. The legislation of the present day represents merely the character of man. The softening, beneficent influences of the female character would operate upon our legislation extraordinarily, if women could be admitted to take part in it.

As I said, Mr. Chairman, at the outset, I had not a great deal to say upon this question, and I willingly give up my place to those who are better able to address you.

TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION.

ADDRESS OF LUCY STONE,

At Orange, New Jersey, February 8, 1858.

In accordance with the announcement of a handbill, Mrs. LUCY STONE addressed the people of Orange, New Jersey, on the subject of taxation without representation, and woman's rights generally. Willow Hall, the place of the meeting, was filled to overflowing long before the speaking commenced, and many were unable to get into the house. They were generally respectful, though a few noisy boys and turbulent men created some confusion. The husband of Mrs. STONE, (Mr. BLACKWELL,) opened the meeting in a half hour's speech; at the conclusion of which, she came forward, and spoke in the following argumentative and eloquent manner:—

One would suppose that the principle which we advocate—the inseparability of taxation and representation—is broached for the first time. People regard it as very new and very curious, and wonder what kind of men and women these are who are telling us that taxation and representation are inseparable. Such people forget or have never read history; they have surely forgotten those stories which their mothers told them at their knees of the struggles of our revolutionary fathers for this great principle. This is no new thing, bursting from some fanciful brain, but a principle which American men and women have been proud to profess and repeat. Those who quarrel with this principle should understand that their quarrel is with men of a former day—men of a time which I sometimes believe was better than our own—with men who said, 'we pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor,' to the principle that the House of Commons shall not tax us without giving us representation. They told the world that governments are just only so far as they rest upon the consent of the governed. We now ask that this may not be held up merely as a beautiful theory, but shall be realized as a practical fact. We say the same thing which they claimed. They spoke better things than they knew. Standing up as they did in the dim light of a time when the divine right of kings was not questioned, they put forth the principle that man was stronger than institutions. They said 'we the people.' And who did they mean by the people? Just we the men. There you have the old Puritans, who came to the wilderness to get the right to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, and then burned Baptists and hung Quakers because they did not believe the same creed with them; and as for the rights of woman, they treated them as if they were nothing at all. And though we hear the cry of equality of institutions and free suffrage, half the adult population are deprived of the right to vote; and this is true even in New York and New Jersey.

We are told that all political power is vested in the people. Who are the people of New Jersey? See whom your statute describes as such: 'Every white *male* citizen,' &c. Who are those not allowed to participate in the government? They are paupers, criminals, idiots, insane persons—and who else are excepted? Why, all your wives, children and negroes! You group these together—you class women with idiots, paupers and insane persons, and call us all nobody.

I do not see how men who remember their mothers—who love their wives and daughters—can look into their faces, and consent to such enactments as these. You have made to yourselves an aristocracy of sex, and call yourselves the people; and the women take the insult thus offered, and call it a compliment.

I say the principle, that taxation and representation are inseparable is not a new one, but that it was the basis principle of the Revolution. Better words never came from human lips than they uttered, as they spake them worthily; and we their daughters, aided by some of their noblest sons, mean to make them a living fact.

I know there are some who ask: What can you do—a few women fighting against mankind? It is not me—it is not you; it is God—the principle of justice. God on the one side, and the American people on the other. Which will triumph?

In this matter, the battle is not to the strong, nor the race to the swift; but here is a principle of omnipotent justice, which must at last draw all men to it, and it is not in human power to keep them away.

In the revolution, Mrs. Adams said to her husband, 'It seems to me that while you are struggling for your own liberty, you are not applying the principle universally'—the women and the slaves had been left out. The principle was not applied then, and has not been applied since.

Go to the wisest man you know—the one most capable of answering—and ask him: Why are you not willing that women should have the right of suffrage? I have sought for years for reasons why, and have found none; and simply because there is no reason against it. And yet something floats in the popular mind; and what is it? One man said to me once, 'There is no escaping the force of your position, if we admit the truths of the Declaration of Independence; and yet I should be sorry to see my daughter at an election.' 'Why?' I asked him. 'Because,' he replied, 'men behave so badly there.' I told him that those men who take part in elections, meet us in the parlor and in the street, and are respectful; and if the men act so badly by themselves, it is the best argument in the world that they need the women there to keep them in order.

Now, if this is the reason why we should not have our rights—if it is actually a reverence for us—then let me say to you, as I said to him: It is not necessary that you and I vote at the same place. You may have your places to vote, and we will have ours. We will invite all the decent men to vote with us, and all that are not decent may vote by themselves. [Laughter.]

Aother man said to me, 'You see that if women vote, it will make trouble at home. Suppose a man belongs to one party, and his wife to another. Suppose the wife will vote her party, and the husband will vote his. Suppose the wife were a Republican, as she would very likely to be, [applause, hisses and laughter,] and the husband were a Know-Nothing, as he would be likely to be, (laughter,) what, said he, will become of domestic harmony?' It happened that I had been in his house, and knew the kind of domestic harmony there was in it, and I reminded him that domestic harmony was not always attendant upon the political subjugation of woman—that order once reigned in Warsaw; and that this was the species of order that reigned in thousands of households. If women are allowed to vote, I would advise all suitors wishing wives without opinions, to state to them very frankly in advance, that they are so small and narrow-minded, they can never allow the wife to differ; and then if she is stupid enough to marry him, let her take the consequences. (Laughter.)

I had heard this argument so often repeated that I began to think there might be something in it. So I went to an old woman, and asked her if a difference of political opinion would make husband and wife quarrel. She cast upon me a look which evidently said, 'You are verdant,' and replied: 'Don't you know that when a man wants another to vote with him, he don't quarrel? He is never so pleasant as when he wants to get his vote; and so if he wants to get his wife's vote, he will be very affable to her.' (Prolonged laughter.) I think the old woman's words were the words of wisdom; and whenever I hear this argument used by women, I cannot but think it an impressive lesson of the power which the husband possesses over the wife—a power so strong she fears she cannot act from her own convictions, without quarreling with her husband. If the husband has yet to learn that a woman has a right to think for herself, and to act from her own convictions of duty, let him learn it as he can. And when he learns this lesson, when he sees his wife an independent, thinking, reasoning being, competent to guide herself and help to guide him, he will learn how much he lost by claiming that she should be subjected to him, and quarrelling with her if she would not consent to it.

Then, we are told that the women do not want to vote. If they do not want to, why do you think it needful to go and hedge up the way by statutes? Is there a necessity for making laws and preventing people doing what they do not want to do?

It is said that women have the children to take care of; that the baby will be left to cry, if the woman goes to vote—just as if every woman had a baby! (Loud laughter and confusion. The speaker hoped the audience would preserve order. *A voice*—Your countenance reminds us of it.) There is nothing this side of heaven so sacred as the relations of a mother. Its duties must all be attended to. But who that remembers the love that never slept—the hand that never grew weary—his own mother's love—ever once finds it in his heart to believe that one to whom God has given this great duty, will leave her child when it needs her care? The women who have babies cannot go to Congress, and therefore no woman should be allowed to vote or go to Congress. Such is the argument; and the logic of it is the same as if you should say, some men are in the army, and cannot vote; therefore, no men shall vote. A man who is more attached to his business than to public life, would not be induced to go to Congress; and so a woman, with the sacred duties of a mother to perform, would not go to Congress. But there are many women who do not have children, and are free; and shall these be denied the right of being selected, simply because others cannot attend to the duties of public life?

It does not take long to vote, and the right of franchise could not interfere with domestic duties.

There is not a man, no matter how ignorant he may be, if he never saw the inside of a school-house, if he is so drunk that he goes wallowing from your corner to the ballot-box, and for the price of his soul cannot tell what the vote in his hand is—I say there is not a man, no matter how debased, how ignorant, or how drunk, but simply because he is a man, has a right to vote. And, woman, remember that politically the drunkard is higher than you are, and that the ignoramus is more competent as a citizen. When women remember this, my only wonder is, that they have said so long that they do not care for the elective franchise. I blush for woman when she says she has all the rights she wants.

I have said there are no reasons why woman should not exercise the elective franchise: but there are many real reasons why woman should exercise it.

One set of persons has never yet legislated well for another set of persons.

There are many reasons why women must legislate for themselves. The Statute books of every State are covered with enactments that disgrace them—laws made against every wife and daughter, so that injustice is written upon every code, so far as women are concerned. In the first place, women suffer taxation without representation. Remember the time when the tea went overboard in Boston harbor—when the tax-gatherer fled for his life—and learn what must be the result when great truths are felt as such.

Taxation and representation are made separable always in the case of woman. It taunts one so that, but for faith in God and the ultimate triumph of truth, one would be tempted to suppose that in the heart of man there is no reverence for truth. There it is blazoned forth in letters of light, that the consent of the governed must be obtained, or the government is not just. But let us ask the privilege of giving our consent, and eyes and hands are thrown up in horror. 'Your consent! who ever heard of such a thing?' It is a cup of Tantalus which escapes as we grasp for it. We are taxed, and can have no possible voice in the matter. Said the men of Revolutionary times, 'If we are taxed without representation, we are slaves.' Lord Chatham declared that taxation and representation were inseparable, and this was the eternal law of nature. You teach your boys to speak that in school as a fine piece of declamation; but when we come and ask you for the same thing as a practical fact, you say it don't mean women.

Pray, men of New Jersey, don't be so inconsistent! Either give us the right to vote, or blot out the word 'people' from your statutes, or else declare openly that women and negroes are nobody. Your theory and practice will then coincide.

It requires patience to stand up and argue with people who admit a principle in theory, in its widest application, and yet, utterly deny it practically. Yet have I faith that this good cause will triumph. Though now there be those who shout and hoot us when we say we ought to vote, we will teach the children at our knees, who are growing every year stronger and taller, and when they are old enough and strong enough, they will shout and hoot for us, and against those who shall say women ought not to vote.

There are thousands of women who have been paying their taxes under protest for years, and the number is growing larger—women who will not pay taxes, though the very cradle in which they rock their babe should be taken and sold.

The common law says that the husband and the wife are one person in law, and Judge Walker says the husband is that one. The common law says the very existence of the wife is merged—mark you, ladies, *merged* is the word—into that of her husband. And it is so literally merged that it follows her to her very grave, and on her tombstone writes that she is the relic of somebody—a piece of the man in whom she was merged. (Great laughter.) Her legal existence is suspended, so that she can neither sue nor be sued.

The speaker referred to the recent *habeas corpus* case in New York, in which a wife was permitted to go home with her parents, from her husband, and said it was the first time a wife was allowed by a court to leave her husband without some criminal conduct on his part to justify her. She thanked God that it was the result of the woman's rights movement which says that a wife has the same right to her person that a husband has to his. Even at the altar, the bride is made to promise obedience to the husband. She wished they would in this matter follow the example of the mother of George Bancroft, the historian, who, when the minister pronounced this part of the service—'You promise to obey'—replied, 'No! I won't!' (Voice—Good for her.) The minister felt insulted, and stopped the ceremony, but the bridegroom, a man of sense, said, inasmuch as he did not promise to obey, he required no such promise from the bride; the minister was finally reconciled, and the marriage was consummated. The bride loses all right to her own name. She is Mrs. Souzer, Mrs. Prof. Dingo, or Mrs. Bayham Badger, changing names with each husband, just as a negro who belongs to Brooks, would be called Cuffee Brooks, and one who belonged to Douglas, would be called Cuffee Douglas. He gets cuffed as much by one as by the other.

The speaker next referred to the fact that the personal property of a wife in most States passes to the husband. The statutes of New Jersey gave the husband complete control over the earnings of the wife. So great a wrong inflicted upon any considerable body of men would create a revolution.

The wife has no legal claim to her children. The father may give away even a child unborn. There was an instance of this in New Jersey. A man died, and his wife discovered before his burial, that he had, before his death, disposed of their child yet to be born. Who could blame her for saying—I cease to weep beside the grave of one who has done me this great wrong?

You tell us there is no need that we legislate; but don't you see we cannot trust you to take care of us? You take away our rights, and the very babies we gather in our bosoms—our earnings are wrenched from our needy hands by drunken and brutal husbands; and yet you tell us we have no need to legislate.

The speaker referred to the wrongs of Kansas as light in comparison with the wrongs of woman. She referred to the progress of the Woman's Rights movement, and said that in Massachusetts the women have gained everything they asked, except the right of suffrage. Their children and their property cannot be taken away from them. The world must learn that the golden rule was the highest policy, and not till woman was the equal of man could the morning stars shout together for joy.

In conclusion, she presented a petition to the New Jersey legislature, in favor of free suffrage to women, which she invited those present to sign. About sixty went forward, and attached their names.

It was announced that, on Monday evening next, Lucy will speak upon the Bible View of Woman's Rights. It was supposed by some, she said, that the Bible was opposed to woman's rights, but she had a better opinion than that.

☞ The following, from the Boston *Herald*, is the kind of slang which is used in disparagement of woman and her rights:—

'Women, sometimes, are fanciful creatures, and importunate in their fancies. Anna Gardner and a bold sisterhood of Nantucket, petitioned the House on Tuesday, and Sarah E. Wall and her bold coadjutors of Worcester, petitioned the Senate yesterday, for the extension of the right of suffrage to women of this Commonwealth. The petition was printed on motion of Father Earle, who said it was a well written argument, and contained views worthy of the consideration of the Legislature. We do not believe that any happy wife or good mother or affectionate sister desires the right of voting, but on the contrary, that, if any fears were entertained that a committee would report favorably to the petitions, the women of the State would flood the Legislature with their remonstrances.'

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Are particularly adapted to derangements of the digestive apparatus, and diseases arising from impurity of the blood. A large part of all the complaints that afflict mankind originate in one of these, and consequently these PILLS are found to cure many varieties of disease.

Subjoined are the statements from some eminent physicians, of their effects in their practice.

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From Dr. Henry J. Knox, of St. Louis.

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DYSENTERY — DIARRHŒA — RELAX.

From Dr. J. G. Green, of Chicago.

"Your PILLS have had a long trial in my practice, and I hold them in esteem as one of the best aperients I have ever found. Their alterative effect upon the liver makes them an excellent remedy, when given in small doses, for *bilious dysentery* and *diarrhœa*. Their sugar-coating makes them very acceptable and convenient for the use of women and children."

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From Mrs. E. Stuart, who practices as a Physician and Midwife in Boston.

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From Dr. J. P. Vaughn, Montreal, Canada.

"Too much cannot be said of your PILLS for the cure of *costiveness*. If others of our fraternity have found them as efficacious as I have, they should join me in proclaiming it for the benefit of the multitudes who suffer from that complaint, which, although bad enough in itself, is the progenitor of others that are worse. I believe *costiveness* to originate in the liver, but your PILLS affect that organ and cure the disease."

IMPURITIES OF THE BLOOD — SCROFULA — ERYSIPELAS — SALT RHEUM — TETTER — TUMORS — RHEUMATISM — GOUT — NEURALGIA.

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Has long been manufactured by a practical chemist, and every ounce of it under his own eye, with invariable accuracy and care. It is sealed and protected by law from counterfeits, and consequently can be relied on as genuine, without adulteration. It supplies the surest remedy the world has ever known for the cure of all pulmonary complaints; for COUGHS, COLDS, HOARSENESS, ASTHMA, CROUP, WHOOPING COUGH, BRONCHITIS, INCIPIENT CONSUMPTION, and for the relief of consumptive patients in advanced stages of the disease. As time makes these facts wider and better known, this medicine has gradually become the best reliance of the afflicted, from the log cabin of the American peasant to the palaces of European kings. Through all this entire country, in every state and city, and indeed almost every hamlet it contains, CHERRY PECTORAL is known as the best of all remedies for diseases of the throat and lungs. In many foreign countries it is extensively used by their most intelligent physicians. If there is any dependence on what men of every station certify it has done for them; if we can trust our own senses when we see the dangerous affections of the lungs yield to it; if we can depend on the assurance of intelligent physicians, whose business is to know; in short, if there is any reliance upon anything, then is it irrefutably proven that this medicine does cure the class of diseases it is designed for, beyond any and all other remedies known to mankind. Nothing but its intrinsic virtues, and the unmistakable benefit conferred on thousands of sufferers, could originate and maintain the reputation it enjoys. While many inferior remedies have been thrust upon the community, have failed, and been discarded, this has gained friends by every trial, conferred benefits on the afflicted they can never forget, and produced cures too numerous and remarkable to be forgotten.

Prepared by Dr. J. C. AYER,
PRACTICAL AND ANALYTICAL CHEMIST,
LOWELL, MASS.

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Rev. J. W. OLMSTEAD, Editor of the Watchman and Reflector.
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Prof. H. B. HACKETT, Newton Theological Seminary.
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